00027165

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 04 February, 2016

R.R.C. 23

AR c 23

Robert Peel

Engraved by permission of Messrs. D. Colnaghi & Co.
from the Original by Sir Thos. Lawrence Bart.

London Published for Richard Hewitson 1834

ENGLAND

BRANCH OF THE PUBLIC

UNDER

SEVEN ADMINISTRATIONS.

BY

ALBANY FONBLANQUE, ESQ.

" Quicquid agunt homines . . .
. . . . . nostri est farrago libelli."

27165 ac

IN THREE VOLUMES.

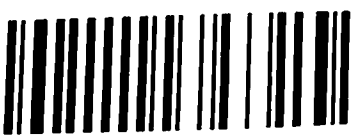
VOL. III.

R f C 23

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET,
Publisher in Ordinary to His Majesty.

1837.

942
Fon/Eng



00027165

LONDON:
PRINTED BY C. AND W. REYNELL,
LITTLE PULTENEY STREET.

CONTENTS

TO THE THIRD VOLUME.

THE GREY MINISTRY.

	PAGE.
Established Spectacles and Established Churches	3
The Church no Check to Fanaticism	11
Lord Grey and the Dissenters	20
The Jack-Snipe of the Grey Ministry	24
Expulsion of the Bishops from the Legislature	26
Impressment	29
The Mode of Spoiling Governments	36
The Imputed Mendicancy of Mr O'Connell	39
The Magistracy against the Beer-Houses	43
Taxes on Information	50
The Voluntary Principle	57
Discredit of the Grey Ministry	60
Secession of the Detrimentals from the Grey Ministry	65
The Grey Government and the Peers	71
Dissolution of the Grey Government	78

THE MELBOURNE MINISTRY.

Formation of the Grey Government	83
Frivolous and Vexatious Legislation	85
Lord Brougham and the House of Peers	91
The Chancellor in the North	98
Lord Brougham's Dinner Circuit continued	105
Law and Music	118
Dissolution of the Melbourne Ministry	125

THE INTERREGNUM.

PAGE.

The Forlorn Hope of the Oligarchy . . . 131
Dilemma of the Duke . . . 143
Waiting for Peel 148
How to Ruin the Tories 154

SIR R. PEEL'S MINISTRY.

Sir R. Peel's Accession to the Ministry and Lord Stanley's Refusal to join it 162
Sir Robert Peel's Manifesto . . . 170
The Dissolution 184
Lord John Russell and the Ballot . . . 187
Commencement of Improvement under a Tory Government 195
Breaking up of the Tory Ministry . . . 201
The Bishops' Church Reform . . . 208
Pantomime and Politics 212

THE MELBOURNE MINISTRY.

Composition of the Government . . . 215
Sir R. Peel's Speech to the Merchant Tailors' Company . 221
Lord Stanley's Desertion 229
The Irish Church 230
The House of Lords 233
Reconstitution of the House of Lords . . 241
The Edinburgh Review on the Question of Peerage Reform 247
Lord John Russell's Declaration against Reform of the House of Lords 257
Mr O'Connell's Plan for the Reform of the House of Lords 265
Tory Attacks on Mr O'Connell 273

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Mr O'Connell and the Ministry	279
Feuds in the Enemy's Camp	283
The Destructive Lords	289
Reform of the Irish Corporations	300
The Bitter Observance of the Sabbath	311
How to roast the Pig without firing the House	317
The Session of 1836	324
Errors in the Whig View of the Peerage Question	327
Lyndhurst *versus* Peel	336
The new Plan of the Tories	343
Von Raumer's England	351

ENGLAND
UNDER SEVEN ADMINISTRATIONS.

ENGLAND
UNDER SEVEN ADMINISTRATIONS.

THE GREY MINISTRY.

ESTABLISHED SPECTACLES AND ESTABLISHED CHURCHES.

In the memoirs of General Millar, who served in South America, the following fact is mentioned in proof of the shameless tyranny which the Spaniards exercised upon the poor Indians:—

"Some foolish speculator in Europe had sent "out, amongst other things, a consignment of "spectacles, which lay for a long time useless in "the stores of a merchant in Lima. After every "hope of disposing of them had failed, for in that "country people retain their eye-sight unimpaired "to a very late period of life, a Corregidor was "applied to, who, upon issuing an order that no "Indian in his district should attend divine service "upon certain festivals, unless ornamented with "spectacles, found means to dispose of the whole "of them at an enormous profit."

This is the parallel of the State Church, especially in Ireland, which makes people pay for what they don't want and cannot use.

Here was a case of Established Spectacles; but we carry things farther in Great Britain, for Indians too poor to buy the glasses could stay away from the festivals in Lima, but in these equitably governed islands there is no exemption, and all must pay for the spectacles, whether they appear in Church or not. There is this difference also between the two impositions, that the Corregidor of Lima ordered the spectacles to be worn, but our Church only insists on the pay, and so that it gets the money, does not care whether the religion be worn or not. Its sole concern is the pay. It says, every man shall pay for its spectacles, its aids to the view of divine truths, but it does not require him to use them, except at the Universities, where it is thought dangerous to allow men to see with their own eyes, and to contract a confidence in the natural sight. If an eagle went to Oxford, he would, like the Indians at Lima, be required to wear the Established Spectacles. In Ireland there are seven millions of people compelled, at the point of the bayonet, to pay for the Established Spectacles; while, according to our divines, they are addicted to the use of mill-stones in lieu of helps to sight. After it is paid, our Establishment is as tranquil and tolerant as a lion, or boa constrictor, after feeding time—it does not insist that people

shall take its religion, as the tyrant of Lima insisted on the Indians wearing spectacles, but it only insists on taking their money, and does not oblige them to take anything in return, unless it be a handful of false oaths here and there. The Parson does not carry his religion to any one. He goes to his flock for his dues; and they come to him, if so inclined, for a cold sermon. We will answer for it that the Reverend Gentleman, Mr F. Lundy, Rector of Lockington, who threw the poor labourer Dodsworth into gaol for a tithe of his little wages, had never concerned himself about Dodsworth's religion, though he had so vehemently concerned himself about Dodsworth's four shillings and four pence. If, says Bentham, you would have your Establishments useless, two principles will suffice, *superfluity of pay, and liberty of negligence.* Of liberty of negligence our Church has made the freest use, and it has obtained for its liberty of negligence the credit of liberty of conscience—some people having mistaken the effect of indifference for the effect of toleration. But so it would be with all other bodies similarly endowed. If the Press, for instance, were an Establishment independent of its readers, editors richly salaried, &c., there would be an end of activity and zeal, and blank paper would soon be issued under the title of the journals. The business of taking, and spending or breeding money, is ample and full employment for the richly endowed.

Lord Brougham has stood forward as a defender of the Church Establishment. In presenting a Glasgow petition, praying for the dissolution of the connexion between Church and State, the Chancellor said—

"This form of expression which, of late time, "had crept into political rather than religious dis- "cussion, was of an indefinite and not very accurate "kind; but taking it to mean not the dissolution of "the connexion between Church and State, of "which phrase he confessed that he did not "entirely comprehend the meaning, but taking "it to mean the dissolution of the Established "Church—that there should not be any longer "any Established Church at all—that the principle "of what was called a voluntary Church should be "substituted for it—that the State should not pro- "vide in any way whatever for its support—that "neither by annuity, nor taxes, nor tithes, should "the State provide the means of affording reli- "gious instruction to the people; but that all sects "and descriptions of men, the ignorant and the "uninstructed, as well those who were so igno- "rant that they did not know the value of instruc- "tion as those who, from better information, were "aware of its use—that all should be left to pro- "vide religious instruction for themselves, so that, "as it were, every man should be a church for "himself, or every set of men a church for them- "selves. To that extent he could not accord with

"the petitioners. He expressed his entire, and, "he was afraid, incurable difference of opinion; "and, holding that difference of opinion, he con- "fessed that he looked with alarm, not with "anxiety alone, but with alarm and dismay, to "a state of things which must be the consequence "of granting that portion of the prayer of the "petition — for the abolition of all hierarchies "whatever, for it extended to the Church of Scot- "land, that economical church, as well as to the "Church in Ireland, which was far less economical "in its disposition—as he was sure that this state "of things would leave twenty millions of his "fellow-subjects without any regular established "means of obtaining religious instruction. Why "did he look with alarm at this state of things? "He had not concealed his alarm from the depu- "tation who had waited on him to place the peti- "tion in his hands; he felt it to be his duty to let "them know his sentiments on the subject. It "was because there were some wants which the "animal instincts of nature left safely to encumber "us, since they were sure of being provided for— "because hunger and thirst, and other purely "animal necessities, would of themselves compel "us to take means to relieve ourselves of their "pressure, and the more we felt them, the more "sure we were to endeavour to provide for them. "But it was not so with wants of a more refined, "and he might say nobler kind—it was not so with

" respect to education—he did not mean religious,
" but common secular education; on the contrary,
" the more ignorant we were, the less we knew of
" the use of learning, and the less we should bestir
" ourselves, and take means to ensure the advan-
" tages to be derived from its acquirement. His
" deliberate opinion, as at present advised, was in
" favour of some religious instruction or other."

Lord Brougham is troubled with vain fears. Why should he apprehend that the abolition of the hierarchies would leave twenty millions of his fellow-subjects without any regular means of obtaining religious instruction? A large majority of those twenty millions have given the strongest evidence of their resolution to provide themselves with religious instruction by voluntarily supporting the ministers of their creeds, while they are also compelled to contribute to the maintenance of the State Church. Is there any reason to suppose that people who now pay two ministries—one which renders them service, and the other which only takes their money—would cease to pay the one of their choice if the compulsory charge were abolished? Lord Brougham cannot think that the Dissenters and the Catholics would be destitute of religious instruction if the Church which now gives them no religious instruction were to cease to take their money; for they have shown, that at any cost they will provide for their spiritual wants. His Lordship's fears for twenty millions must

therefore be cut down to fears for the minority. belonging to the Church. And why may it not be supposed that members of the Church would be as content to support their Clergy as the Dissenters have been ready to bear the charges for their Ministers in addition to the burden of the Church? If such indisposition on the part of the Churchmen be probable, it is a strong argument against the Establishment; for it implies that it has no hold on the hearts of its flocks—that it has not been in the habit of affording them any spiritual food which they would not carelessly abandon as soon as payment for the supply should become a matter of choice.

But Lord Brougham talks of the nobler wants, and argues that the supply of them must be forced —or, to express it plainly, that people will not spontaneously supply themselves with religious instruction. We might refer to the United States for the example of what people will do when left to themselves as to religious instruction; but we prefer the evidence presented in our own country, because it goes a step farther, and shows that the desire for religious instruction is stronger than the love of money, and will be satisfied at double cost rather than be disappointed.

But then, asks Lord Brougham, what will become of the poor who are now communicant with the Church? Is, then, their zeal less than the poorest of the poor, the poor peasants of Ireland?

We see, in the instance of the Catholic peasantry, what the poor will do—the sacrifices they will make out of their scanty means, where a zealous priesthood has touched their hearts with a devotional spirit. This we admit is not the case of the poor who come within the pale of a wealthy Church. But the question, what the poor would do for religious instruction if the Establishment were abolished, assumes a fact more than doubtful; namely, that the poor have now some religious instruction through the Establishment. They are admitted within the walls of the Church, and, as Milton says, "sit at the foot of a pulpited divine to as little purpose of benefiting as the sheep in their pens at Smithfield:" The opportunity of hearing the forms of prayer, and a cold sermon in a language hardly intelligible to them, is the extent of the religious instruction of the poor. If the fact be doubted, it is only necessary to examine the religious knowledge of the poorer members of the Church, and the extent of their obligations to the Establishment will soon be seen, and the effect of abolishing such an instrument of instruction will be justly estimated.

But what impudence it is to defend our costly Establishment on the score of its services to the poor. Do the poor need the Archbishops, and Bishops, and Deans, with their thousands a year, their purple and their palaces, their state and their pageantry? If an Establishment be necessary for

the poor, is such an Establishment as ours the establishment fitted or suitable to the poor? Does it not seem apter for Dives than for Lazarus? If the rich will undertake the support of the gaudy parts of the Church pertaining to them, it will not be difficult or burdensome to provide ministers of a becoming modesty for the poor. At present the clergy of the Church, whose services to the poor are hypocritically pleaded for it, generally maintain the dignity of the cloth by holding themselves above intercourse with the poor; and it appeared a few weeks ago, in the remarkable case of a demand for the tithe of a labourer's wages, that the Rector had never even seen the face of the man whom he was suing. The claim of tithe of wages was unusual, but the ignorance of the humble parishioner is a common circumstance. Or if there be acquaintance, it does not extend to the things of the heart and the conscience, which should constitute the province of the good pastor's care.

THE CHURCH NO CHECK TO FANATICISM.

EVERY one has observed the circular piece of wood floating in a water-carrier's pail to steady the wave,

and prevent it from washing over. The same sort of virtue has been attributed to an Established Church, in keeping dissent near a certain level, and fanaticism from running over with agitation. We are aware that it may seem false figure to compare an establishment to a log which has so many points of likeness to the opposite dynasty of King Stork, but let that pass; suffice it to illustrate that, according to the argument of the best advocates of the Church, its use is to counteract excesses. We think there is fallacy in this reliance. The lengths of dissent may certainly be measured from the stationary Church, but they are in no degree regulated by it. From the Standard in Cornhill we know how far off is York or Edinburgh, but the positions of York and Edinburgh have not been in any degree determined by the Standard in Cornhill. Or, to come back to the log, which will make itself a simile for the Establishment, notwithstanding all our attempts to reject it,—the ship's log shows the ship's rate of sailing by the distance run from it, but the log has nothing to do with the ship's speed.

But it is not true that the Church has even a tendency to prevent dissent from running too far, or to check fanaticism. On the contrary, we see the Church in the wake of any extravagance that may be the humour of the day. We have a striking instance at this moment. Has the Church opposed itself to the pharisaical demand for what we have

termed the *bitter* observance of the Sabbath? What has it done to inform ignorance and correct fanaticism in this matter? The Bishop of London has counted the boats passing under Putney bridge on a summer Sunday. He has reckoned up lollipop stalls, and numbered green-grocers, and shot out his tongue against tartlet shops. Sir Andrew Agnew, in all his Puritanism, is but a sequence of Bishop Bloomfield.

With the Scotch the strict observance of the Sabbath has been a habit, but nevertheless it is most remarkable, and most satisfactory and creditable to the intelligence and liberality of that people, to learn that they are, for the most part, opposed to the fanatical legislation which their countryman, Sir Andrew Agnew, would thrust upon England.

The Dissenters of Scotland assert the sound principle, that questions of religious obligation lie beyond the province of legislation.

In exemplification of the tendency of the Church to counteract a Puritanical spirit, we find in its advocate, the *Standard*, a leading article, a column and a half in length, against music in sacred buildings. The editor begins by approving the Bishop Bloomfield's withdrawal of his name from the list of Vice-Presidents of a festival of religious music, proposed to be held in Westminster Abbey; and ends with a condemnation of organs. The old quarrel with organs, by the way, was revived by

the fanatic who fired York Cathedral; and who, in committing the act, mainly congratulated himself that he "had stopped its singing." He had as much pleasure in burning it as an inquisitor had in roasting a heretic. But to the *Standard*:—

"The Bishop of London is no favourite of ours; "but as we think he has acted substantially right "in withdrawing his name from among the pro- "moters of this festival, we will endeavour, as far "as we can, to protect him from misrepresentation. "If the Bishop thinks, with us, that the propriety "of employing a church as a place of sensual "recreation, or *as a place for the collection of* "*money, received in consideration of enjoyment of* "*any kind*—if the Bishop thinks, with us, that the "propriety of such an employment of a church is, "at best, doubtful—it is surely not merely his "right, but his duty, to avoid taking part in the "approaching festival."

The proposition of the *Standard* is not sufficiently limited. The Bishop cannot endure the idea of using Westminster Abbey as a place for the collection of money received in consideration of musical enjoyment; but we have not heard that he has ever expressed his disapproval of the practice of using Westminster Abbey as a place for the collection of money, received in consideration of the gratification of curiosity. Does the destination of the money alter the question? The pence for the *sights* go to the Dean and Chapter:

the receipts for the musical festival would not have so devout an application.

But there are many things more unseemly in churches than fiddles. We see more desecration in state pews, in fastidious distinctions of rich and poor, where all should be in humility of spirit—where the pomps and vanities and wretched prides should be dismissed, in reverence to the eye of God—we say, we see more desecration in this than in a whole orchestra bending their skill to the beauties of sound.

The *Standard* continues:—

"Our views, in truth, are altogether practical. "Laying out of view, for the present, the higher "question, whether the application to secular uses "of things usually devoted to the uses of religion "(we are obliged to use these periphrases, to avoid "such hard words as 'desecration' and 'profana-"tion') be directly sinful, or otherwise, we are "quite sure that it is, consequentially, injurious to "the interests of the church that permits it. If "not, why have the teachers of all true religion, "at least from the day of Abraham downward, set "apart, as objects of peculiar and reverential care, "a priesthood and a temple, or an altar? Why "does the Church of England forbid her clergy to "engage in secular pursuits, or to perform her "services, or preach the gospel, except in conse-"crated edifices?"

If things and persons devoted to the uses of

religion should not have secular applications, but be set aside as objects of peculiar and reverential care, what do such vessels as the Bishops in the House of Lords—meddling with beer-houses, and defending (see Philpotts' speech on the Reform Bill) "the shameful parts" of the Constitution? We like to see the offspring of the union between Church and State making manifest the tree by its fruit in that House; but the Church should have other views, and, by the showing of the *Standard*, should rule another practice.

"Why," asks our contemporary, "does the "Church of England forbid her Clergy to engage "in secular pursuits?"

Does it forbid them? Does it forbid them to hunt, to shoot, to mix in justice-business, to trade in keeping school, to brawl in the House of Peers? The *Standard*, and its Bishop Bloomfield, would not have the buildings devoted to religion used for the innocent enjoyment of sacred music. They tell us, that the Temple and the Priesthood are set apart as objects of reverential care; but apparently it has never struck them that there was anything unbecoming in the hands aiming the fowling-piece on the Monday, which held the gospel, or perhaps delivered the sacrament, on the Sunday. Is there nothing unseemly in the application of the voice to the "Tally-ho!" in the chace of the tormented hare, which has been devoted to the words of mercy and charity? Of a truth, comparing the

practices of the Clergy with the strictness with which Bishop Bloomfield would keep the churches from secular uses, we should say that, like the Dutch, they are nicer in their houses than their persons.

But let us proceed with the *Standard's* essay against music:—

"As the uninitiated in music do not go to musi-
"cal festivals for the sake of devotion, so it may
"reasonably be doubted, that many who do go to
"such festivals may be classed with those who go
"to church

.. "To hear the music there;

"and that many more deceive themselves into the
"notion that their feelings are religious, when they
"are little better than animal sensations."

Is the mistake a very pernicious one, if it be committed?—and may not the ears, attracted by one set of sounds, profit by another? What proportion of a congregation, does the *Standard* suppose, goes to church for religion, strictly speaking? How many, because it is expected of them—how many, because it is an example to the servants—how many, to see and to be seen? Would the writer of the *Standard* keep all these away, as he seems disposed to withdraw the inducement of those who go for the music.

Our contemporary asks—

"Has church music proved favourable to devo-
"tion amongst the humbler classes? *Has the*

" *addition of an organ increased the congregation* " *of country churches?* Nay, has it not had the " reverse effect? Has it not deprived the people " frequently of the interest which they took in " what we may intelligibly, though not properly, " call, as a distinction, the vocal part of the church " service? Our own experience certainly con- " cludes unfavourably to the use of instrumental " music in Divine worship; and, for a reason at " which we have hinted above, we wish to see all " the musical part of the service within the old " limits, which were sufficient to give rest to the " clergyman."

We might more aptly ask—has the Reverend Doctor Chafey's brawling in the Court of Sidney increased the congregation of churches? Has Bishop Phillpotts' defence of the shameful parts of the constitution proved favourable to devotion? Has the Bishop of Bath and Wells' titular hostility to beer-houses attached the people to the clergy? There are organs in churches which have done more to thin the congregations than any instrument of sweet sounds—organs, not of harmony, but of discord—organs of one pipe and one note, the note of the horse-leech's daughter, " Give! give! "

But as we like to part in good-humour with our contemporary of the *Standard,* we would recommend him to investigate the effect of dispensing with music in Chapels of the Establishment. An

opportunity offers. Caius College, Cambridge, sold its organ, and instituted a pudding (they say) with the money. Now, it should be seen whether the men of Caius, organless, are better than those of organed Colleges; and if they be so, a fresh question arises—how much of their virtue is referable to the absence of organ, and how much to the fulness of pudding?

It is quite true, as the *Standard* argues, that we are not all affected in the same way by musical sounds—the devotions of some (of most, we believe) may be raised, of others, disturbed by them; but the same argument may be urged against many objects of clerical reverence. The devotions of some people may be disturbed by the cauliflower wig of a dignitary of the church. And, following the *Standard's* course of questions, we may ask, whether such cauliflower wig has proved favourable to devotion amongst the humbler classes (peculiarly sensible of the grotesque and ridiculous); and whether the apparition of such cauliflower wig has increased the congregation of country churches, or had the reverse effect; and whether, indeed, such cauliflower wig has not deprived the people, frequently, of the interest which they took in the vocal part of the church service? And we should add, in the words still of the *Standard*, substituting only wig for organ, that our own experience certainly concludes unfavourably to the use of the

.wig; and it is impossible for us to calculate how much better we might have been but for such cauliflower wig.

LORD GREY AND THE DISSENTERS.

A SCENE between Lord Grey and a deputation of the Nottingham Dissenters is another exemplification of the hacknied remark—that truth is stranger than fiction. The boldest invention would not have ventured to bring such salient characteristics into opposition, as appear in the fearless, straightforward, explicit declarations of the delegates in contrast with the compromising counsel of the startled Minister. The dry report of the interview has the effect of the most successful of Landor's admirable imaginary conversations. It is a reality with dramatic effect. Lord Grey affected not to know the purport of the memorial (which was for a severance of the Church from the State), and presumed that it was in substance the same as the other memorials of Dissenters he had received. The design of this was to abash the deputies; to make them feel the unpleasantness of communicating a disagreeable surprise to a great man; it

implied, too, that their objects, which have been advertised for the last month or more, were inconceivable, and it allowed Lord Grey to hold the memorial in his hand as a harmless thing—some prayer relating to registration and burial—as if he had not a suspicion that it was a catamaran for the Church Establishment.

The deputies, however, were not men to be thrown into confusion by such tactics, and Mr Howitt plainly said, that the Nottingham Dissenters had not been looking here and there to see what others were doing, but had proposed what they deemed just to themselves; and to shorten the Minister's inquiries, he added, that they prayed the separation of Church and State.

In the acting of the scene there is here opportunity for a fine start and expression of amazement in the Lord Grey, who talks of sorrow and the embarrassment of Ministers, the alarm of both Houses of Parliament, the startling of the country, and ends with a wish that the Nottingham Dissenters would confine their desires to the removal of such petty grievances as he and his colleagues were disposed to abate.

Mr Howitt was not to be parried with so feeble a foil, and observed that the country was not now so easily frightened at the proposal of bold measures, and that it was the business of the Dissenters to consider only what justice required, and they were accordingly determined to take their

stand on the broad ground of entire religious liberty. Lord Grey upon this, expecting, no doubt, an indirect answer in compliment to his opinions, asks the home question, "Did they want to abolish all establishments of religion?"—meaning, of course, all establishments supporting the ministers of one faith in preference to the ministers of others, and at the expense of all. Mr Howitt, point blank, replied, "*Precisely so.*" The next passage to which we come is highly characteristic. The Minister repeats his wish that they had confined themselves to the demands he thought politic, adding, "It would look more reasonable, *and might be a step to something more.*" The rebuke to this suggestion is conceived in the just and manly spirit—

"That, as to asking a part only, and that as a "step to future solicitations, it would have been "erroneous. To ask only certain things was, in "fact, saying that those things were all that were "due: to ask avowedly a part, when they looked "for the whole, was disingenuous, and would give "Government a great right, if they came with "fresh petitions, to say, 'This is unreasonable: "you asked before, and had all you asked for.' "They believed it right to ask for the abolition "of the Establishment, and they chose the candid "and open course."

This is honesty; and, also, it is true policy. For our own parts, we have always scouted any

concealment or disguise of designs: if our designs are just, they will gain ground by discussion; if they are not maintainable, let them fall. The aims we are not ashamed or afraid to entertain, we are not ashamed or afraid to avow. What we propose for the benefit of society, we present in full to the judgment of society; and, if our schemes are false, we are well content that they should fall by their hollowness. We plan no ambuscades, we meditate no stolen marches and sly surprises, we would not compass any advantages under false pretences. We are consequently often charged with imprudence; as, on the introduction of the Reform Bill, when we declared that we accepted the measure only as an instalment, and that the Representative Constitution should not and could not rest permanently on that basis. But we have a faith in truth, and believe that even where it thwarts a tricky policy it is advancing the righteous cause. Because the gun recoils we are not to suppose that the bullet does not fly to its mark. Entertaining these opinions, we rejoice to see the Dissenters pursuing the frank course, and stating their purposes at the full. Let them pitch their objects as far as they think just, and leave the rest to the working of the public judgment. The first effect may be to startle, but the second will be to familiarise, which assists to a fair consideration. There is nothing ultimately gained by

a tortuous and insidious policy. The mathematical definition of the *right line* holds good in morals—it is the shortest distance between two points.

THE JACK-SNIPE OF THE GREY MINISTRY.

THERE runs a story of a gentleman whose shooting season was for many years devoted with great constancy to one jack-snipe, which, after all, outlived him. Every day the sportsman had his shot, and every day the shot missed the mark. Irish tithe is the jack-snipe of our Government. Every year the Irish Secretary comes down in his shooting-jacket, loads his piece, and promises certain aim *this time*. Last time the powder was damp, or the wind was the wrong way, or the sun in his eyes, but *this time* he is always sure of his mark, and the bird is the same thing as on the spit, until away it flies at the report of the piece. The Secretary looks blank, and says he must go to Parliament for another charge. So it goes on, and the game goes off.

The tithe is to be called Land Tax next year,

and then it is pouched; as much pouched as is the jack-snipe by calling it a guinea-hen. While the sinecure church exists in Ireland, the exactions for its maintenance, under whatever name, will be odious, and every art, every effort will be tried to evade them. Mr O'Connell truly says, that it is not alone the amount, but the application of the tax that goes to the hearts of the people. Observe the exasperation caused in this country by the Pension List, the grievance of which also is not in the amount (so incomparably smaller than that of the great Irish sinecure,) but the application; and then conceive how much greater must be the heart-burning of the Irish at being compelled to maintain the priests of another faith, who not only render no service for their pay, but whose very presence is assertive of an unjust and insolent ascendancy. The Church of England is the yoke of Ireland. It is the sign of the mastery of another people who have made their faith mark their injustice—who have connected their religion in most unholy association with the most flagrant extortion in the world.

EXPULSION OF THE BISHOPS FROM THE LEGISLATURE.

THE Bishops in the House of Lords are the sweet fruit of the union of Church and State. We cannot agree with those who would abolish so practical an exposure of the effects of the alliance. In the Bishops we see the produce of a richly-endowed Religious Establishment; and in some sort, according to our prayers, they set forth in their lives the truths of religion, for they very frankly exhibit the corruptions of wealth. The vice of our time is the worship of wealth; but the Bishops, counteracting this disposition in a practical way, have very signally shown that the possessors of riches may become disreputable and odious by relying on them alone, and neglecting the higher claims to the esteem of society.

Whilst we have a Church connected with the State, and founded on money bags, we deem the presence of the Bishops in the House of Lords as of excellent use in the way of an exposure. The tree is known by its fruits. In the debate on Mr Rippon's motion to relieve the Archbishops and

Bishops of their legislatorial duties, Mr Buckingham inconsiderately remarked that—"Many conscientious persons thought that Bishops would "stand much higher in public estimation if they "were deprived of their legislative functions."—This is a very loose mode of talking. Doubtless what Mr Buckingham means to say is, that the less the Bishops are known the better for their credit, and that the perfection would be to put them out of sight altogether. In the House of Lords we see what the Bishops are; and people idly impute the blame to the place of exhibition, and suppose that the virtue of our Right Reverend Fathers goes when they enter the House, and returns when they quit it. Their legislative powers, however, cannot determine their dispositions; but their dispositions are manifested by the use they make of their legislative powers. It was not because they had legislative power that the Bishops never raised their voices against slavery, or the impolitic cruelties of the criminal code. The possession of power makes their acts and their omissions conspicuous; but to take away the power, and with it the exposure, would not alter the heart of Episcopacy. Nearly two centuries ago our pious Milton put forth a challenge which has never been answered:—

"Though God for less than ten just persons "would not spare Sodom, yet, if you can find, after "due search, but only one good thing in prelacy "either to religion or civil government, to king or

" parliament, to prince or people, to law, liberty, " wealth, or learning, spare her, let her live, let her " spread among ye, till, with her shadow, all your " dignities and honours, and all the glory of the " land, be darkened and obscured."

The expulsion of the Bishops from the Legislature is desired on two grounds—to prevent the exposure, which we think useful, of the fruit of the alliance of Church and State (which is like attempting to suppress a symptom instead of using it as a guide to the disease), and to save the credit of the House of Lords. Now, we frankly confess that, if we cared a rush for the House of Peers, we should be full of anxiety for its deliverance from the Bishops. But not being in the slightest degree concerned for the permanence of the Hereditary Legislature, we rather look with satisfaction at the position of the Lords Spiritual in the Upper House. The episcopal jewel seems to us worthy of the setting, and the setting of the jewel.

There is a pretty close concord between the Peers Spiritual and Temporal; but whether because the temporal are so spiritual, or because the spiritual are so temporal, we shall not pretend to decide. After all, in candour we must admit that the Bishops are not much worse than other Lords. Throw a casting net over them, and where will you take a better haul?

In the six-and-twenty Prelates we have two or three men without spot or blemish, whose enlight-

enment serves to give the happiest effect to their benevolence. Taking any six-and-twenty Hereditary Lords at random, shall we find a much larger proportion of good? But of the Bishops more is expected: true—but that is owing to the unreasonableness of the public. After the long experience of Bishops, people should know better than to look for grapes from thorns. The occasional Dublins and Norwiches, however, disturb the tenor of episcopacy and the lessons of experience, and keep alive expectations which would otherwise die away. For the quiet discredit that belongs to the confirmed despair of anything good, which would be the best thing for the Bench, no such men as those we have instanced should be appointed, and the Bench should be filled, as far as nature and art will supply them, with Phillpotts. Next to making people contented, the best thing for the peace of rulers is to make them despair.

IMPRESSMENT.

In answer to some remarks of Lord Durham, in support of a petition from Shields against impressment, signed by 5,176 persons, Lord Grey observed that—

" He had himself the strongest possible desire to " entertain any measure which would render im- " pressment unnecessary; but as to parting with " the power to use impressment, if it should be " necessary, at the beginning of a war, for instance, " he was not prepared to do so; for he believed it " would be impossible to give up that power with- " out endangering and destroying that naval supe- " riority by which we had hitherto been distin- " guished."

When objection is made to the amount of the naval force in time of peace, the ready answer is, that it is prepared for war; but when the abolition of impressment is demanded, the reply is, that the power of man-stealing must be preserved, because without it the navy might not be manned upon the commencement of hostilities. Thus the claims of economy and justice are denied on opposite grounds. When the estimates are voted, the navy is admirably prepared for war; but when impressment is discussed, it is so very far from being in a state to meet an enemy, that nothing but the prerogative of seizing upon the skill and labour for which the State does not choose to pay the market price, can recruit it up to a war establishment. Government says distinctly, " We may want men, and must retain the privilege of stealing." Is this lesson suited to our times? In the present posture of affairs, is it not most important to inculcate the sacredness of all rights of property; and to what property is a

more scrupulous regard due than to the poor man's property in his labour and his skill? Yet both of these are subject to invasion by the power of impressment, which the Reform Ministry insists on preserving; and the same men who hold in reserve this odious prerogative, will lecture most earnestly upon the obligation of observing the rights of property in the instances of favoured pensioners and clerical sinecurists. They see the worst example in taking away unearned rewards—disturbing rights which have had their origin in public wrongs; but they recognise only constitutional practice in the power of stealing away the poor sailor's person, and robbing him of his liberty and his labour, and scourging him or killing him if he attempt to escape. Of a truth, we are a consistent people. We give twenty millions as compensation to the West India planters, for the abolition of slavery; and we steal men for our navy, in time of war, exactly as they steal negroes in Africa, and make them labour on worse terms than the apprenticed slaves, rather than pay the higher rate of wages, which would induce sailors to enter the King's service. In what other department of the public service is this atrocious economy observable?—where else do we find the principle asserted, that the service which cannot be had for the price offered shall be compelled? No; in all other branches of public employment we hear proclaimed by Ministers the fitness and policy of affording liberal recompense; and our Go-

vernment only becomes saving where saving becomes a plea for slavery.

In the debate in the House of Commons, Sir James Graham contended that there was no likeness between impressment and slavery; as, according to his notion, "the great blot in slavery was, that it enforced labour without remuneration." To seize upon men, confine them in the holds of ships, and convey them from Africa to the West Indies, would not, then, seem to Sir James Graham to be enslaving, if any pittance were given to the prisoners for the forced labour to which they were destined. If Sir James Graham were knocked down, carried on board a vessel, and forced to work for sixpence a-day, and scourged for neglect of the tasks assigned him, he would not deem his condition a condition of slavery, because the sixpence a-day took out the great blot in slavery—namely, the forced labour without remuneration. Money, says *Peachum,* is the true fuller's-earth for removing stains; and Sir James Graham holds it of such virtue, that the smallest coin in wages is of virtue to take out "the great blot in slavery."

By a parity of reasoning, Sir James Graham should be of opinion that a forced exchange is no robbery. If a fellow stop him on the highway, and forcibly take from him his gold repeater, value fifty guineas, giving him in lieu of it a plated watch, value twenty shillings, he should, in consistency, hold that this transaction was not robbery;

for the great blot of robbery, in his opinion, should be, that it takes away property without giving anything in return. To other minds, the absence of *consent*, both in robbery and slavery, seems a main consideration. The sailor can obtain so many shillings a month, on terms agreeable to him, in the merchant-service: by a press-warrant he is seized, and made to work, with the scourge over his back and the halter over his head, for some shillings a month less than he could earn in a trader; and this, forsooth, is not like robbery or like slavery, because, quoth Sir James Graham, though the labour is forced, there is pay—and only not such pay as the forced labourer would demand, and could obtain, if left at liberty. More or less in recompense—consenting or unconsenting, are no considerations with Sir James; like the sailor in the geographical dispute, he makes nothing of a handfull of degrees.

Mr Buckingham, who delivered a very able speech in support of his motion to refer the practicability of manning the navy with volunteers to a Select Committee, quoted the opinion of Lord Chatham—"That, although in the event of sudden "invasion, or of insurrection, impressment was "justifiable, yet that, in all other cases, until every "other measure for manning our ships had been "tried in vain, it was contrary to the law of Eng-"land." And Sir James Graham admitted, "that "the prerogative should never be resorted to except

"in cases of extreme and urgent necessity—times "of peril, moments of danger, when every con- "sideration should bend to the imperative call of "the country's interest." At such rare junctures all private rights give way to the exigencies of the public service; and why, then, should a power over the rights of one class of men be specially reserved? When any such crisis as is admitted to justify impressment arrives, it will bring its own laws with it, and find the people in the aptest temper for the reception of such laws arising out of present necessity. But now there is no security that the power of impressment will wait upon extreme national exigencies. The vague language is, that in the event of a war it will become necessary; but it is not every war that would be attended with the instant dangers said to justify impressment. Nay, it were difficult to imagine any such war; but it is very easy to suppose that, upon the commencement of any war whatever, the ready power of impressment would be abused. And with a naval force of the present large amount, and a system offering the proper inducements to seamen to enter the Royal Navy, there would in any conceivable contingency be ample time to recruit the navy up to a full war establishment before any hostile Power could menace our coasts. The position of England is not exposed to surprise; it gives us time for preparation against the attack of any enemy. But the advocates of the power of impressment talk as

if the country could be carried by a *coup de main*, unless its fleets can be recruited by forced levies in a few hours. It must be admitted, that one case may be imagined in which the navy could not be manned with volunteers; but whether it is desirable to provide for it, is a question that may be safely left to the public judgment. In the event of an unjust and aggressive war, the power of impressment would be exercised in direct proportion to the disinclination to serve in a bad cause; and what would be the feelings of the country on seeing men torn from the employments of their choice, and compelled, like galley-slaves, to fight against the dearest interests of mankind?

On the part of Ministers, Sir James Graham promises to put the navy on a footing which may induce merchant-seamen to enter it. For this object the wages should be raised to the usual market price, and the periods of service should be fixed at a moderate length, with choice of renewal; for we believe that the indefinite service of the navy deters seamen from it more than any other cause. But will this be done? We apprehend not.

THE MODE OF SPOILING GOVERNMENTS.

Upon any discomfiture of the Ministry, such as the defeat of the Attorney-General at Dudley, it is very frankly told its faults by journals which, so long as the tide flowed smoothly, have countenanced and encouraged it in all its errors. The first deviations from the right course are the deviations which should be closely watched and corrected; but the supporters of Government in the daily press are silent, or apologists, or approvers, of such declensions, till they have extended to a broad departure from the just line, and brought Ministers to a position of conspicuous disgrace. Which is the time to tell a man that he is in the wrong path—when he first steps into it, or when, exhausted and bemired, he has wandered miles from the right way? The information may be better late than never, but it would have been better at first than at last. The attempt, however, to correct the first false step has been censured and resisted as an act of hostility. The angry remark has been, "Why point out the little deviation from "the right path, in which they have advanced only "so far, yet deserving indulgence; apply yourself to

"commending their line of movement where it "has been well directed, instead of ungraciously "dwelling on the present declension of some few "degrees." Now we could never understand the kindness of not telling a man when he was going wrong, especially when marching straight into a slough or over a precipice; nor, on the score of his having travelled right up to a certain point, could we admit that he had earned a title to lose his way, and that it was ungrateful to admonish him that he had mistaken his course. But this was for some time fashionable doctrine; and when Ministers were first truckling to the Tories, and adopting Tory principles —as upon Sinecures and the Duration of Parliaments —and falling into divers Tory practices, and putting forth the hacknied Tory pretences for them, our animadversions upon these backslidings were called "Attacks upon the Ministry," instead of attacks upon the errors which would ultimately disgrace and ruin them. When these things have advanced to a certain pitch, and public opinion recoils and marks its displeasure with some rebuff to the Ministry, their former flatterers, or apologists, turn round upon them and recite the long catalogue of the faults which have been cherished, instead of nipped in the bud. Then they say, "It is now time to speak the truth." It was not time to speak the truth when the men were first going wrong, and easily to be better guided; but it is time to speak the truth when, having been cheered

on in the wrong direction, they have stuck in the slough. Miserable counsellors! The thief at the gallows bit off the ear of his mother, who had neglected to tell him the reports of his evil ways; but how much greater would have been his provocation if, after having so long failed in her duty, she had begun admonishing him of his faults, and recommending another course of life, when the rope was round his neck?

We think the Ministry has great reason to complain of its treatment by the Press, which plays fast and loose with it. At one time it is an idol to be worshipped, and it is blasphemy to criticise; and the next hour it is a King Log, to be spurned —a thing without heart or energy—wanting courage to be just; wanting motive for constancy in any act but cringing. It is countenanced and upheld in its wavering, truckling policy, and desired not to heed any voice of blame, any exhortation to a more spirited and righteous course, till it stumble at some popular check, and then the sycophants are all turned to critics, and very frankly trace the disaster to habits which have been formed either with their positive encouragement, or without the timely reproof that might have served for correction. As with the spoiled child, the practice smiled upon one moment is scourged the next, when it ends in some disaster.

THE IMPUTED MENDICANCY OF MR O'CONNELL.

THERE having been only thirty-eight members in a House of 561 favourable to a repeal of the Union, the Lords have joined with the Commons in an address to the Throne, declaring their determination to maintain the connexion which seems so little in danger of severance. This is surely a very pompous resolution for a very small occasion, or the effect of it is to magnify the occasion, and to create an impression that a struggle is yet in prospect, which calls forth the determination of King, Lords, and Commons not to yield.

The *Chronicle* observes—

"The Lord Chancellor, in seconding the motion "of Earl Grey, forcibly dwelt on the effects which "the proceedings of Tuesday night must produce "on the people of Ireland. 'If anything (said "'his Lordship) will teach the people of Ireland "'(and he had no doubt that they were teachable) "'—if anything could wean them from their pre-"'sent thraldom, and place them in a situation to "'be guided by their own better judgment, it was "'the lesson which was read to them last night by "'their united representatives in the free Parlia-

" 'ment of the United Kingdom. (Hear, hear.)
" 'If any thing could open their eyes, it would be
" 'when they found even a minority of their own
" 'representatives opposed to a repeal of the
" 'Union; if any thing could convince them of
" 'their error, it should be when they saw that,
" 'among all the various shades of character, of
" 'principle, of temper, and of talent, which may
" 'be supposed to exist among the 520 odd mem-
" 'bers of the Parliament of England, Scotland,
" 'and Wales, who voted on the question, not one
" 'voted for their favourite scheme.' His Lord-
" ship then threw himself on Mr O'Connell, with
" an evident determination to crush him, if possi-
" ble, by one great effort, following up vigorously
" the blow which he received through the debate
" and the division. He inveighed against those
" unnatural children of the soil, who, 'by their
" 'arts, obstructed the benefits of nature, and were
" 'at war with the bounty of Providence itself.'

" It is observed by Goldsmith, that no people
" feel so sensibly the 'maladie de poche' as the
" English, or succeed so ill in appeals to the bene-
" volence of others. The Lord Chancellor re-
" proached Mr O'Connell for supporting himself
" 'by a species of personal as well as political
" mendicancy;' and prefering a life of agitation,
" so supported, 'to honest industry, and its credit-
" able and honourable gains;' and he alluded, by
" way of contrast, to Dante, who, 'when reduced

" ' to poverty—not from his own idleness or ex-
" ' travagance, but by the political contests of his
" ' country, and by persecution, over which he had
" ' no control, begged his bread for a season, but
" ' so far from glorying in his beggary, recorded
" ' that the sense of shame under which he received
" ' the alms of his fellow-countrymen was such
" ' that the mere sensation made every fibre in his
" ' system quiver with shame.' "

Is this generous, is it just? Mr O'Connell has abandoned large professional emoluments to devote himself to the cause of the people of Ireland—the yearly contribution, the rent, is the price of such services. Whether what are called his services deserve the name or not, is immaterial to the present question—the Irish people deem them services, and when requiting what they deem services, it cannot be said that they bestow charity. There is no mendicancy in Mr O'Connell's case. He gives his talents to his country, and a grateful price is paid for them. The wisdom of both applications—of the talents on the one hand, and the money on the other, is fairly open to dispute; but supposing the Irish to be in the grossest error in estimating the labours of Mr O'Connell as they do, he is not a mendicant for receiving the price for them. An advocate is not a beggar because his client has injudiciously paid him a retaining fee.

Andrew Marvell was supported by the contri-

butions of his constituents at Hull. And would the Lord Chancellor insult the memory of that virtuous man, by describing his condition as one of mendicancy? Mr O'Connell has a nation for his constituents. He is paid by willing hands for supposed services. The Lord Chancellor is paid by grudging hands, through the tax-gatherer.

There is much of false sentiment mixed up with the consideration of this matter—we hear fine claptraps of scorn for the man who pockets the mite wrung from the hard hands of peasants; but do no mites, wrung from the hard hands of peasants, go to the pensioners, the "valiant beggars," and the servants of the State? A man who, for no services, real or imagined, receives a large share of the public money, lives in a state reputed honourable; while the shame of mendicancy is imputed to another, whose labours are voluntarily remunerated by a grateful people. The money extorted from the public, and applied odiously to it, carries no disgrace; but a fund raised by a people, by self-taxation, is accounted infamous.

We avow that, notwithstanding the scorn cast upon a stipendiary member, we wish there were in the House of Commons some dozen of Andrew Marvells, men of talent and probity, enabled by the contributions of constituencies to devote themselves to public business. Sure we are that the bargain would be profitable to the people. Better instructed statesmen would be produced by it.

Lord Brougham, indeed, has told us that there is nothing in the most active professional or commercial employment incompatible with the functions of a statesman; but we have always doubted whether information and mature reflection upon intricate or profound political problems rushed into a man's mind between his dinner and his walk or drive to the House of Commons. Supposing some preparation to be necessary for the business of Parliament, some leisure from money-getting occupations must be necessary for it; and the question is, how such time, with such application, can be had. There are men of leisure and ability in the independent and affluent classes, but they serve on their own terms; and, accustomed to ease, application of a strict kind is generally irksome to them. But the people have not yet learnt the qualifications which they should require in a statesman. A rich man, who will do *no harm*, is a paragon!

THE MAGISTRACY AGAINST THE BEER HOUSES.

If the representations of the Magistracy, with Lord Brougham at their head, be implicitly credited, it will soon be a question for the learned whether

drunkenness and crime were known in this country before the existence of the beer houses. The licensing system is deplored by our rural Justices as the very key-stone of English morality. The Chancellor states that he foresaw the frightful evils which would result from the consumption of beer on the premises, for sedentary drinking is thought as dangerous to the virtue of the poor as sedentary habits are injurious to the health of the studious or indolent; but that, upon having a conference with the persuasive Goulburn, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, he was induced to accede, notwithstanding the warnings of his prophetic soul.

To stop the jobbing of the Magistrates in licenses was Lord Brougham's object; and now, wonderful to say, the Magistrates, whose jobbing in licenses was so checked, cry out against the change, and wring their hands at the demoralization of the country. It is passing odd that they never thought of the morals of the country before! They have seen the gaols filled with poachers, but they did not raise their voices against the game laws. They have seen the rural population made dissolute and criminal, even to blood, by the temptation of well-stocked preserves, and they have loved the cause of the depravity too well to complain of its effects. The Clergy and Magistracy never traced depravity to its source in the game laws, for they handle the gun; but they have been vigilant and forward in exploring the tide of crime up to its spring in the

beer-barrel, which has been wrested from the licensing system. Society is now almost unhinged because labourers drink beer at their ease, sitting under roofs, and, 'mayhap, conversing. It is, forsooth, to the last degree dangerous to let poor men sit and talk, and what claim can they have to such indulgences? Let us suppose a man exhausted with a day's toil or a day's travel; he drinks his mug of beer at a beer house, and is such a voluptuary that he would take a seat and rest while he takes his draught. How can this be necessary? Is there not a dry ditch in which he may repose if he be weary? How can he possibly want a roof over his head? Under a scorching sun, or in rain, hail, or snow, he can surely take his beer in the open air, for Legislators hold it as excellent for him to drink in the open air, as it is offensive for him to sleep in the open air. But the crime is not so much in sitting in beer houses as in the conversation when two or three are sitting together; and as crimes are plotted through speech, it is a great point of policy to prevent the poor from talking together. Cutting their tongues out might seem cruel; and to prevent the meetings, in which they may converse, is the only practicable expedient. Of course it is not supposed for a moment that the poor have any desire for the innocent exercise of speech; indeed, it is not conceived that the poor can want society, or the recreation of the spirits.

What can they talk about, if not the snaring of hares, or the stealing of sheep, or the firing of barns? Legislators find a little idle gossip and tittle-tattle necessary to unbend their great minds, but the poor are considered superior to such levities. According to aristocratic ideas, they should be half saint, half sinner—half abstinence, half rapine—half stoic, half hog. It is a sort of being supposed to be strangely acted upon by circumstances. Thus, he is not the worse for beer in an ale house; but beer in a beer house is the destruction of soul and body, and the root of all evil. If he drink it, indeed, outside the door, he is safe; but if he take it under the roof, his morality is crushed. Hear the Chancellor:—

"He thought at the time that the permission to "consume beer upon the premises marred the "effect of the measure, and would open a door to "such consequences as were now universally com- "plained of; but, upon having a communication "on the subject with Mr Calcraft, and with Mr "Goulburn, who was then Chancellor of the Ex- "chequer, he had come to the conclusion that it "would put an end to the influence, often impro- "perly exercised, of the great brewers, and to "another influence which was still more objection- "able, that of the Licensing Magistrates, by which "they were often determined to take away, or not "to give, a license, not according to the good con-

" duct of the individual as a publican; but for other " considerations which he need not now mention; " and it was this consideration which induced the " House of Commons to accede to the measure in " the form which it ultimately assumed. *The magis-* " *trates and country-gentlemen, and indeed every* " *class of persons, seemed now to be alarmed at the* " *consequences which had followed the introduction* " *of that measure.* The information he had received " had induced him to recommend, two years ago, " that they should wait to see if the evils incurred, " and which all men now cried out against, would " be such as to shake the opinions that then " existed. In his mind there ought to be a dis- " tinction taken on this subject, namely, that these " beer shops were chiefly mischievous in one state " of circumstances. He thought that they were " not mischievous in large towns, nor even in con- " siderable country towns; but that the mischiefs " now complained of arose chiefly from beer shops " in places that were entirely country places, upon " the edges of commons, in lone places that were " necessarily out of the reach of the government of " towns, away from the superintendence which " ought to be exercised over them. His belief " was, that the number of the places that he had " last mentioned was considerable, that they were " productive of very injurious results; and so the " complaints against the measure were in one res- " pect well-founded; but he did not think that the

" whole of the measure ought to suffer from those " complaints against a part, however well-founded " they might be, and he must say that some of " them appeared to him a little exaggerated. It " became, therefore, a question, whether the mea- " sure ought not to be modified in two respects. " One of these was to establish a more efficient " visitation over those beer shops; and the second " was, to limit the exercise of the power to set up " those beer shops, to towns or villages, or to " within a short and ascertained distance from " such towns."

That is to say, his Lordship is for prohibiting beer houses where they are most wanted—in lone places which will not support a public house. People on the edges of commons cannot possibly want to drink; or if they do, they can walk to a town or village half-a-dozen miles off, or so, where beer houses are permitted, and buy their beer at a shop where they must not sit down or stop to drink it, because it would be bad for their morality, but whence they are free to carry it back to the edge of the common; or, if they be impatient, they may regale under a hedge. A little additional exercise is nothing to a man who works from sun-rise to sun-set. He is a peripatetic. But it remains to be explained how it is, that if the beer shops in lonely and thinly-peopled places are those which are mischievous, so much crime as alleged, which must have a proportion to a numerous population,

has proceeded from them. The frequenters of the beer shops in wild and scantily inhabited districts must be few, and yet the multitude is said to be corrupted by them!

We are glad to see that Lord Melbourne did not join in the Chancellor's views. As for the pretence of the increase of crime, it was last session denied, by one of the Ministers, that there was any such increase; and it would have been well for the Learned Lord on the woolsack to have specified the "*consequences*" of the Beer Act, which have alarmed the "magistrates and country-gentlemen, and all classes of persons." We will not deny that the beer houses, here and there, may be ill-conducted and turned to bad uses; but, as the *Times* observes—

"If the magistrates, instead of complaining, "would exercise a more vigilant and active juris-"diction over them, the evils so pathetically "deprecated would vanish very speedily."

TAXES ON INFORMATION.

THE argumentative and eloquent speech of Mr Edward Lytton Bulwer, for the repeal of the Newspaper Stamp Duties, leaves little to be said on the subject, except in praise of the ability with which he has treated it. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was, however, unmoved. Lord Althorp admitted that the tax was pernicious, but declared that he was apathetic about it; because, when he proposed to take the propriety of repealing it into consideration, the intimation was received with little approbation! His zeal for the moral improvement of the working classes slumbers, unless he is cheered on by the House of Commons. His concern for the interests of the uninstructed poor must be fed upon the applause of affluent legislators, or it dies away. The people who are craving information are not of the electoral body; and it is easier to vote troops to coerce them than to yield them access to knowledge by which they may guide their conduct according to the common interests of society. There are the gaol, the convict-ship, the gallows for the errors of ignorance, and besides these the misery and ruin, which are unseen punishments; and what need, then, of enlightenment to

prevent what there is such ample provision to chastise? Or, if the need be confessed, for the sake of humanity, yet how much greater, how much more important, the need of two or three hundred thousand pounds for the revenue? Perish the people, so that the revenue is sustained; let them be as swine, or as rabid brutes, so that the revenue suffers no abatement. The people are made for the revenue, and not the revenue for the people. While the revenue furnishes bayonets, bullets, and field-pieces, what signifies the blindness of the people, and their liability to misguidance? Are there not squadrons to charge them, and artillery to sweep them down with grape-shot? Theirs is the prayer of Ajax in the night-fight—"Grant that we may "see—give us light—let us know what we are "about—let us not perish in darkness." But the answer in substance is, "It will cost too great a "sacrifice of money—half as much as our excellent "colleague, Sir James Graham, proved to be shared "among 113 Privy Counsellors—to let you see, "and know what you are about; and if you go "wrong in ignorance, the instruments of punish-"ment, for which we spare no cost, will inform you "of your error." Let us suppose a country in which half the people are stone-blind. Of course a great revenue would be necessary to furnish guides, and take care of the helpless; and to prevent robbery, impositions, and wrongs, and to quell disturbances arising from knavish delusion, such as

that so humorously described in the *Arabian Nights*, of the blind dervises kicking and cuffing each other, and robbed of their substance meanwhile by him who had set them in contention. What would be thought of the wit of the legislator, among such a people, who, when a certain cure for blindness were offered, answered that he would consent to purchase it, providing it could be done with safety to the very revenue raised for the care of the blind? But the case supposed is not parallel; for we, barbarians that we are, *make* the blindness, cut out the eyes of the people, stop up their mind's sight as we stop up their windows, and then require more money for the guidance and ordering of them in their benighted state; and make the fiscal profit of the darkness-compelling imposts a reason for withholding enlightenment, with its infinite train of economies, in peace and virtue. Well says Miss Martineau, "*the School of Ignorance is the innermost Court of Bedlam;*" and the men who drive the people to that recess are our stupid legislators, who think it better thrift to govern the deluded with a great revenue, than the reasonable with a revenue *minus* half a million. It is a significant fact that, when money is to be voted for "the dignity of the Crown," we never hear of any fear for the safety of the revenue; though adding to the expenses imperils its sufficiency as much as diminishing its amount. Every man who talks of the revenue when the morals and the intelligence of

the people are concerned, is to be contemned as a dunce in politics, or scorned as a knave and a hypocrite.

Nothing could be more unworthy than Lord Althorp's attempt to shuffle off the charge of inconsistency by the plea, that he had never in the House advocated the repeal of the Newspaper Stamp duties, *after his reference to the notice he had given of his intention to bring the repeal under consideration*, and followed by the admission that his private opinion had been favourable to the repeal. The opinion, by the way, was not very private, and were we to state all that has come to our knowledge of the matter, we should make out a case wearing the appearance more of perfidy than of inconsistency. But great allowances are to be made for Lord Althorp's weaknesses, and the consequences of excessive infirmity of purpose often look like deceit.

With regard to the proposal of substituting a low postage for the Stamp, Lord Althorp remarked:—

"He doubted not that, if the duty on Newspapers "were taken off, there would be a consider- "able reduction in the revenue, though probably "not to the full extent of the tax. During the last "Session it would be remembered that the duty on "Advertisements was considerably diminished; and "what had been the effect of that diminution on "the number of advertisements? Had it increased "them to any great amount? No, it had not. An "increase had taken place, but it was a slight one."

Every one acquainted with the subject foresaw that such would be the consequence of reducing the Advertisement duty without repealing the Stamp duty, and at the time we stated the objection to Lord Althorp's lop-sided project. But arguments addressed to him are as words to the nether mill-stone. The Stamp duties being continued, the number of newspapers remained as before, and as persons were induced to advertise more freely upon the reduction of the duty, and advertisements poured in upon established newspapers, the proprietors, having the offer of more than they could conveniently find room for, were able to make their own terms with the advertisers, and consequently the price of advertisements differs little from what it was under the heavier duty, and the number is not very much increased. But had the Stamp duties been reduced, and the field of speculation opened, new papers would have competed on low terms for the advertisements for which the old journals asked their prices, and the competition would have kept down the price, and the lower price would have induced people to advertise more freely.

As the legislators of Pitt's time were mightily pleased with the heavy stamp duties on documents necessary in law proceedings (really taxes on justice), thinking them taxes on the lawyers, so the legislators of the present time, to whom the press is secretly hateful, are satisfied with the taxes on information, thinking them taxes on the newspaper

proprietors; but are they, in truth, the fences of a monopoly, in this way—that they limit the market, and make speculation hazardous among so comparatively small a number of purchasers. For example, if a tax of a hundred pounds were laid on shoes, the number of persons who could afford to wear shoes would be very small, and half a dozen shoemakers would suffice to supply the market. Others might be disposed to embark in the trade, but they would be deterred by the consideration that in so confined a market, and against established dealers, they had no prospect, by any superiority of skill or attention, of obtaining the custom of a sufficient number of purchasers to support them in the undertaking. We are of opinion that, if the duties were repealed and the market extended, the well-established papers would extend their circulation, but they are as flourishing as avarice can desire in present circumstances, and therefore averse to change and the chances of rivalry.

In considering the subject of Taxes on Information, it should never be forgotten, that the newspaper is the poor man's book of knowledge. He has no other means of becoming acquainted with the laws, the opinions of society, and the facts with which his own interests are connected. In this country it is a maxim, that ignorance of the laws is no excuse for violation of them; and yet there is no attempt at promulgation, not a show or pretence of it! The laws are supposed to be made in

secret, the publication of debates being a breach of privilege; and when passed, the King's Printer has the monopoly of selling the Acts of Parliament in the most expensive form, and at a price far above the means of the many. The newspaper, infracting the Standing Order of the House, publishes the debates, and makes those who can afford to buy them acquainted with new laws and the operation of them; but the newspaper is taxed above the means of the poor, who must suffer for their ignorance. Parliament puts beyond their reach the only instrument which can warn them of its laws. It makes a darkness, digs a snare, and punishes those who fall in it. And these legislators talk of morality, and are lavish of their recommendation to the people to confine their reading to the Bible, but have quite overlooked, in that sacred book, this terrible warning to themselves:—

"When I say unto the wicked, Thou shalt "surely die, and thou givest him not warning, nor "speakest to warn the wicked from his wicked way "to save his life, the same wicked man shall die "in his iniquity, *but his blood will I require at thy* "*hands.*"

THE VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE.

THE advocates of the Church observe, that "there is a wide difference between a new country like the United States, and one in which the system of an Established Church is inwrought with the sentiments and habits of a large portion of the population." There cannot be a doubt of the truth of this remark—there is a wide difference, indeed, in point of aptitude for the voluntary principle, between a new and an old state of society, and the reflection of a moment will show that the new is the more unfavourable state, and that the voluntary principle has had the severest trial, as well as signal success, in America. In a new society there is a disposition to limit the wants and the dependencies; every member of a family fills as many offices as possible; there is a fulness of worldly occupation; and a feeling of self-sufficiency, in the largest sense of the word, is the natural result of the value which every one finds in his own skill and industry. *A priori*, it might be argued that this was precisely the state of society in which religious instruction must be supplied, or it would not be had, as it would not be sought. But the fact shows the fallacy of such reasoning. In Eng-

land, on the other hand, wants and dependencies are multiplied to the utmost possible degree, and men will hardly dispense with anything to the supply of which they have once been accustomed. The want of religious instruction, which the American, left to himself, has felt and provided for, should, in the Englishman of the Church, be strengthened by the habitual supply, as a man who has been accustomed to a thing is obviously less likely to do without it than one unaccustomed. We affirm, then, that as the voluntary principle has struck root in America, where the want of religious instruction had not been fixed by the custom of religious instruction, it is sure of success in this country, where the want of religious instruction has been fixed by the custom of religious instruction, and where habit is of more force than in any other country of the civilized world.

If the members of the Church of England would not do as much for the support of their ministries as their brethren in America, or half as much as the Dissenters and Catholics of their own country (who maintain two ministries, that of the State per force, and that of their faith by choice) to what can we refer such indifference but to negligences in the Church, which have left its communicants deficient in the religious sentiment which we find moving all other denominations of Christians to provide themselves with spiritual teachers? If

this be the case, the State Church is detrimental to religion. The dilemma is this:—The members of the Church are as zealous as the people of other creeds, or they are not: if they are as zealous, they will not fail to maintain their ministries; if they would fail to maintain their ministries, they are not as zealous; and must not the cause of the deficiency of zeal be referable to faults in the Establishment, rendering it unworthy of support?

So far are we from agreeing that the new society in America is better fitted for the voluntary principle than the state of things in England, that we are prepared to argue, that if in any circumstances a religious establishment is advisable, it is in a new state, where men, whose industry is fully exercised and rewarded, are apt to forget everything but the improvement of their worldly condition. In the scheme of animal nature, we see food supplied in the tender, helpless ages, and when they are passed, the creature is left to its wants and its capacities of providing for them. Our Church is like the giant Pantagruel in his cradle, laid supine on its back, and fed in its manhood like helpless infancy. "It would starve if left to itself"—and why? because it has never been set on its legs, and taught to supply its wants by a zealous ministration to the wants of others. The course by which a priest seeks a bishopric is not the course by which a pastor would obtain bread—from the gratitude of his flock.

DISCREDIT OF THE GREY MINISTRY.

If it were the intention of Ministers to disgust the country by a dogged denial of justice—if it were their design to show themselves wedded to the principle of error for richer for poorer, whether the motive was large or small, the most seductive or the most paltry—we should say that they had shown some ingenuity in their late course of proceeding. We have before observed how frequently Lord Althorp has of late set himself in opposition to motions (involving some principle of justice without involving any large undue interests of the governing powers) which have been carried against the leader by the good feeling of the House. Now if it be too much to require a Minister to be just, we think we may ask of him as much as Mrs Peachum asks of her daughter Polly—namely, to be "somewhat nice" in the deviations from virtue. It is a very impolitic thing for a minister to make his injustice too common—he should reserve it for the service of the Church, the Magistracy, and exalted abuses. Fielding records of his Jonathan Wild the Great, that he had an excellent maxim, "Never to do more mischief than was necessary, for that *mischief was too precious a thing to be wasted.*" Injustice

Ministers should husband as too precious a thing to be thrown away in the defence of paltry objects. They should reserve it, like the gods of epic poetry, for knots worthy of it. It is a saying of Aristotle, if we remember correctly, that the nature of everything is best seen in small quantities, and in petty injustice the public see what is most odious in the nature of injustice. On the other hand, it will be observed that the horror of all crimes is in inverse proportion to the greatness of the scale. Thus the case of Mr Gee* has caused a greater sensation than the case of Poland; and a single murder moves more pity and terror than a massacre. From which observations it may be inferred that the sympathies are divisible, and that where there are many objects for them, the share falling to each is small.

It is a corollary, then, that wrongs to classes are imprudences, and that a discreet Minister will confine his injustice as much as possible to wrongs to the whole nation. Ministers, not perceiving this point of policy, are letting their injustice down, and disgracing themselves by exposing it—street-walking, as it were—at Wapping, Rotherhithe, and other water-side places, where it picks poor sailors' pockets of sixpences.

What an exhibition was that opposition to Mr

* The person who was entrapped and confined in a cage by some knaves, who extorted from him his signature to a cheque, and an order for the delivery of some deeds.

Lyall's bill for transferring the sixpence a month paid by seamen in the merchant service to Greenwich Hospital, from which they can hardly expect to derive advantage, to the Merchant Seaman Hospital, an institution for their own benefit! This obnoxious tax falling upon a class of men who are the country's favourites, only amounts to the sum of 22,000*l.* a year; yet to make this a charge on the country instead of a charge on the merchant navy was pertinaciously resisted by Sir J. Graham, Lord Althorp, and Mr P. Thomson. The pretences and quibbles put forth on this occasion were of the last shabbiness. The merchant sailor might, forsooth, have a claim on Greenwich, if he lost a limb in the merchant navy, or if he passed from the merchant to the King's service. Connect this with impressment, and the thing appears in its full beauty. Sixpence a month is taken from a poor fellow's wages on board of a merchantman, but if he is knocked on the head by virtue of the prerogative of the Crown, and made to serve in a King's ship, at much lower wages than he was earning in the merchant navy, and he loses a leg or an arm, or both, or more, or wears out his constitution in the forced service, the benefits of Greenwich are open to him. That is, you have first taken sixpence a month from his wages in the merchant service, then you have seized on his body, and stolen a part of the market price of his labour, and then you show great mercy and

goodness in giving a hospital to the man who has been maimed or exhausted in your compelled and under-paid service. Any advantages contingent on service on board a King's ship are not contemplated by the merchant sailor. He hopes to serve in the merchant navy, where he has better pay and short voyages.

The justice of the case is clear; but had it been more doubtful, was it wise to make a stand for the 22,000*l.* so questionably and shabbily raised, instead of transferring the charge to the country? But so it is, that meanness and profusion will ever be found hand in hand, and that a Government, as it is unjustly prodigal to one set of people, must be unjustly parsimonious to another. Compare the defence of the Pension List with the opposition to the Bill giving the Merchant Sailors the benefit of the tax of sixpence on their monthly wages. Look at the fine scruples respecting the rights of pensioners, and the off-hand justification of a tax on a class,—the justification, stripped of all glosses, being, that peradventure they may have a share of the benefit—that perhaps they may have the good fortune to be pressed into the navy, or the bad fortune not to find employment in the merchant service, and therefore to be compelled to enter a King's ship. The whole sum for which these mean pretexts were employed is about a sixth of the Pension List.

It is manifest that the Ministry is daily losing ground, both in the country and in Parliament;

and it is equally clear that it is losing ground, not because it has done too much, but because it has not done enough nor attempted enough—its offence has not been *movement*, but Toryism—it has acted for its enemies instead of its friends. It might, indeed, be supposed that the question which had determined every measure since the Reform Bill had been, not what will our supporters the people think?—but "What will our adversaries the Tories "say, and how will they whisper of us in the "King's ear?"

The present course of the Ministry must bring it to a speedy wreck. Three things it has not which are necessary to its permanence—purpose, courage, and unity. These qualities it must acquire, or it will fall. The Cabinet must be remodelled, and, as the *Times* lately observed, some *will* must be introduced into it—some men who will not allow themselves to be tempest-tossed with apprehensions, and whose strength of resolution will carry them forward in a steady course. The country wants to see men with some heart—some internal moving power—some other capacity than the capacity of counting up the obstacles to every object of popular desire—some higher courage than that which yields not to the greatest, but to the present petty difficulties, which it is only necessary to dare, to overcome. We ask for nothing rash or headlong, but for a friendly spirit to the people, accompanied with firmness—such a one, while he led, might restrain. We press our present Minis-

ters, because we believe that they have no desire to advance. It is as if we had to do with a pusillanimous General, whose inactivity or backward movements were attributable, not to prudence, but to cowardice. The leader who was really supposed to have the object at heart, would command deference when he restrained impetuosity. The composition of the Cabinet must be strengthened, or things will soon come to a crisis; and materials which are now available in it for a better combination will, in that case, be disgraced and for ever cast away.

SECESSION OF THE DETRIMENTALS FROM THE GREY MINISTRY.

THE preceding article on the Grey Ministry, was written under a conviction that things were coming to a crisis, and that the Government must cast off the taint in its constitution or perish. Mr Ward's motion for reducing the excess of the Church Establishment in Ireland operated as an exorcism of the evil spirits in the Cabinet, and delivered it of Mr Stanley and Sir J. Graham, who were followed by the Duke of Richmond and Lord Ripon. We regard the secession of these persons with unmixed satisfaction, and see

in it the only measure of relief which the parties were capable of conceding to the people. They have at least taken a popular step. They have filled the country with satisfaction, and made all the good hopes revive, which their obstructive influence had depressed. We cannot affect any of the regrets professed by some of our contemporaries. Lord Ripon is a man of tried inefficiency, and the best that can be said of him in the Grey Ministry is, that his existence as a member of it was forgotten. The Duke of Richmond has been less fortunate—the continued abuses, and lost opportunities of improving the Post Office have kept his name under the public eye, and he has always been numbered among the opponents of popular measures—a Tory in principle, prejudices, and predilections, under Whig colours. In Sir James Graham we have seen the advocate of sinecures, corn laws, and impressment, and his very last official act was the opposition to Mr Lyall's motion fer relieving the merchant seamen of the unjust tax to Greenwich Hospital. Mr Stanley we for some time designated as the evil genius of the Ministry, but latterly we have been inclined to think that in such a description we flattered his powers of mischief, and that the evil had no very formidable connection with genius. He has a reputation for skill in debate, which is little appreciated by the public, and much over-valued in the House. With the country, his reputation is not of the first

or of the second magnitude, and the effect of his speeches is confined to the House. We are of opinion that in Parliament men have mistaken the fear of his termagant tongue for awe of a superior kind of prowess. He has been the Shrew of the House, and has the sort of deferences which are ordinarily commanded by a vixen voice. Men who are afraid of wounds to their self-love shrink from an encounter with him; but any one that handled him in his own style with more eagerness to hurt than thought of self-defence, would, we suspect, bring him to a more moderate carriage. It is said that his happy secession is referable to religious objections to any interference with Church property. The Church patronage of the House of Derby is valued at 15,000*l.* a-year, and it is a very fortunate coincidence that such large ecclesiastical interests are lodged where there is so refined and vigilant a religious sentiment.

We heartily rejoice in the deliverance from the Detrimentals of the Grey Ministry; but upon the use of the opportunity for the introduction of better men, and the adoption of a juster and a firmer spirit, all will depend. Is the remnant of the Cabinet warned of the error of its past policy, and resolved to retrace its false steps, and to set out afresh in the course opened by their measure of Reform? For the guidance of opinion, will they go with opinion; to lead the people will they head the people, and set forward towards the same objects? It is

difficult, says Bacon, to play an after-game of reputation, but there is now such an opportunity of retrieving character as can never be had again. The Ministry must now shew whether it is better or worse than those who have seceded from it. It cannot hold its present level in estimation, if with that it would be satisfied; it must rise, or sink low indeed. The grand test will be the choice of men to fill the vacancies—by them we shall judge of the purposes of Government.

When, however, we consider the many important points upon which the remaining members of the Cabinet have committed themselves, in opposition to measures of improvement and redress of grievances, we confess that we have our doubts as to the possibility of their extricating themselves from their unpopular course, and recovering the path in which they may render service to the country, and re-instate themselves in its esteem. They are meshed in their own errors, and they can only be dragged through their entanglements by the aid of men of sound and fixed principles, high purposes, energetic minds, and steady courage, waiting upon prudent counsel. It will require the infusion of much character indeed in the Cabinet, to make up for the character that has been sacrificed to a fruitless, truckling policy. It is unnecessary for us to review the errors of the Ministry; we have marked them, and foretold their consequences in every step, and have been assailed with reproaches

for blaming the deviations from the just course which have brought the Government to a pass, where another false step was absolute ruin. Even before the passing of the Reform Bill we perceived that Ministers were preparing to oppose objects, for the attainment of which that measure was the legitimate instrument; and also, that they were falling into the old train of Tory pretences, in defence of existing defects and abuses. Persons who countenanced Ministers in these first faults are now loud in censuring the series of errors which commenced with them. Ministers may, indeed, reproach their friends, both in Parliament and the Press, with having given them most mischievous encouragement in their first declension from their principles and their professions. We advert to the past only, as it may afford a useful lesson for the future, but to do the best for the present is the great business; and if able leaders are appointed to the vacant posts—men in whose purposes and abilities the people place reliance—we shall, as much as possible, blot from our memories the errors of the past campaign, and look for better conduct under better auspices. For our own parts we, and others who think with us, have pressed and goaded the Grey Government, because we were convinced that it had not the spirit nor the disposition to go steadily on with the work of Reform; and that it made the capital error of counting the powers of the country in a handful of Lords and Gentry. The tactics of an exploded

system have been retained as the tactics of a new field. The author of the Reform Bill, Lord Durham, alone has shown a thorough understanding of the working of the measure. As for the others, having given vent to the waters which were bursting the dams, they cannot, when it is up to their lips, perceive the necessity of floating on it; and like the Tories, or with greater infatuation, they are still for the march of Pharoah. We have no hesitation in affirming that the new element of power is even yet in a favourable state —it will not long remain so if it be agitated with disappointments, and chafed with restraints; for in the currents of opinion, as in the mighty streams of nature, the rapids are made by obstacles. The temper of the people has been tried, but not exhausted; and if their cause be now put in the hands of men whom they believe earnest, energetic, and able, they will not be intemperate or impatient in the prosecution of their objects. It is of men who appear disposed to do nothing that every thing is asked at once. It is proverbial not to press a willing steed; but whip and spur, without stint or mercy, are applied to the sluggish jade.

THE GREY GOVERNMENT AND THE PEERS.

THE first difficulty of the Grey Ministry is to know its own wishes—and this great problem solved, the next question is, what the Lords will let it do; the answer is easy and ready, and it lies in two words—*no good.* Of this Lord Grey is well aware; and, such being the case, we have only to ask, what we have been asking for the last two years—with what object he has carried on the Government? In fact, it is an error to speak of the Government as his Government; it is the Government of the Lords—a Government shaped to the notion of their pleasure. Indeed, when Lord Grey offers to throw up the Government into the hands of his factious opponents, he reminds us of the simplicity of the Irishman in a sedan chair without seat or bottom, who, when he had been for some time most painfully shuffled along, with broken shins and twisted ankles, protested that he had as lief walk. Lord Grey has been in a sedan Cabinet, without seat or bottom; and when he says that he had as lief the faction of the Lords governed, he speaks in most simple ignorance of the fact that

the Lords have governed and are governing, and that he has long been, and is, shuffled along by them. Has it not been repeatedly confessed, that measures for the benefit of the people are not proposed because of the apprehended hostility of the Lords; and is not every such forbearance from what ought to be done, an obedience to the will of the Lords, or the guidance of the Government in conformity with their malignant pleasure? So long as the Lords hold their power without qualification for the use and without responsibility for the abuse, a well-disposed but weak Ministry can only be a thing of negatives, that cannot do good and will not do mischief. This, however, is not enough to satisfy the Lords; they will not be content with a divided empire—it is not enough for them that the Government abstains from what ought to be done, they sigh for the positive power of doing what ought *not* to be done. A compromising Ministry, whose forbearances are shaped to their lordly injustice, is, therefore, hateful to them, though it is their creature up to a certain line; for they want an active anti-national Government, with hands prompt to wield the sword and grasp the purse—oppressive and profuse—grinding to the governed, generous to the Janissaries.

There is an old song, the burden of which is the discovery that "rogues will be rogues in a very high degree;" Earl Grey, in his speech of the 6th,

appears to have made at last the brilliant discovery that Lords will be Lords in a very high degree. We quote his words:—

"I can declare to your Lordships that I experi-
"ence no great satisfaction in occupying my pre-
"sent situation. Give me leave to assure you that
"it cannot be very agreeable to me to sit here,
"night after night, to see arranged on the opposite
"benches a number of your Lordships, which I
"know, whenever called into a division, must de-
"cide the question against me. Nevertheless, I
"have persevered under all the difficulties and dis-
"advantages incident to this state of things, in the
"hope that better times would occur. The noble
"Earl says that he is disappointed in the expecta-
"tions which he formed with respect to the con-
"duct of Government. I also have been disap-
"pointed in another respect; for, notwithstanding
"the forbearance, for observing which, during the
"present session, the noble Earl takes so much
"credit to himself, I observe symptoms of a bit-
"terness of spirit, which I cannot help deploring.
"In conclusion I will observe, that if the noble
"Earl has good reasons for entertaining the opin-
"ion which he has expressed respecting the con-
"duct of Government, he ought to adopt proceed-
"ings to effect our removal from office; but if he
"will not do this, let him at least permit our mea-
"sures to proceed, without endeavouring to excite

"throughout the country a factious spirit of dis-
"content."

The Lords will do neither the one nor the other; their time is not come, cannot come, till, under the hands of men at once their rivals and their tools, the people have been reduced to despair. The Grey Ministry must be made to do the work of its own disgrace before the pear will be ripe for the Tories. Lord Grey must exercise more forbearances towards the Lords before the Lords can, out of his weakness, make their strength, and hazard their last blow against the liberties of the people. It is their policy to condemn the Government to "lie in cold obstruction, and to rot"—a lifeless, useless, offensive body;—to make it despised as King Log, to prepare the way for the dynasty of King Stork.

And will the Ministry grapple with this plan of operation, or will it attempt to hold on in the *milieu* course, which propitiates no enemies and secures no friends? Will it be the flying fish of the political world, passing from air to water and from water to air, and finding enemies in either element?

The old question is asked, "What is to be done with the House of Lords?" Bombard it with good measures. Dismiss forbearances which never ought to have been exercised—which were abandonments of the duty to the people. Let it be seen whether the Lords will permit of good

government—let it be seen whether the Hereditary Legislature, the single irresponsible power in the State, is not in its nature opposed to good government, and then let it be judged whether, to preserve the forms of the Constitution, we should make sacrifice of the whole object of the Constitution. Institutions are instruments for certain beneficial ends; if they be found to work counter to their ends, society must correct the vicious principle. The nation may exist without a Hereditary Legislature, or shape a fitter power with incomparably less inconvenience than it can suffer the abuse of the irresponsible power of the Peers. The improved representation of the Commons House has exposed the fallacy of the theory of the Constitution. The serviles of the Press, the lackeys of the Ministry, who disgrace it by extolling Tory principles and magnifying Tory power (thus either betraying the leaning of their masters or their own preparations for deserting) contend that the despotism of the Peers must be patiently borne, because it consists with the Constitution. Who rests contented with a bad Constitution? A Ministerial organ prates of the enjoyment of the Constitution as we hear people talk of enjoying bad health.

In defence of the Hereditary Legislature it is assumed, that a body of great proprietors must have an interest in the well-being of the country proportionate to the extent of their possessions. This we deny. It proceeds upon a false supposi-

tion that the interest in property increases with the amount of property, but let us ask which is likely to be most deeply interested in his possessions,—a man born to 20,000*l.* a year, and who has never tasted the sharpness of poverty, or one who has, by industry, realised 500*l.* a year, and who is acquainted with the sweets of his little independence, as well as with the pains of wanting and the difficulty of acquiring it?

Unquestionably there will be found among the great proprietors men of an enlightened understanding of their own interests, and of a scrupulous reverence for the rights of others, men of superior talents and acquirements, men in every way qualified to take a lead in legislation; but these are the few whose presence, but not whose preponderance, is to be reckoned on among the children of fortune. Many more are those whom we regard as the most dangerous persons that can have power in a State—"men" (as described by an able writer in *Fox's Repository*) "who have to "maintain the externals of a large income with "the resources of a small one—men with the "wants and habits of the rich and the fortunes of "the poor." These are the dangerous desperadoes, the men who cannot afford to be honest and just, or to entertain any scruples, and who will weigh the rights and interests of the people as dust in the balance against any abuse or impolitic system by which they profit or can hope to gain.

And of such materials is the House of Lords, in great part, composed. Men born to make laws for nations; and busied, one half of their lives, in ruining their fortunes—and the other half, in repairing them at the expence of the public. The insolent, injurious, gormandizing suitors of Penelope typify the siege which these men lay to office, and the riotous use of the means at their mercy. Would that we had an Ulysses to chase them from the Hall—

> "Pirates and conquerors of harden'd mind,
> The foes of peace and scourges of mankind;
> To whom offending men are made a prey
> When Jove, in vengeance, gives a land away."

Those of our independent contemporaries who clung to the hope that the Peers would learn modesty and justice from prudence, have now abandoned all such expectations. They now see, that to compel submission on one or two points is not to improve the character of the House—that the vicious tendency is always acting, and always acting injuriously—and that it is only occasionally, in some extreme instance of wrong, that the public indignation is called in to conquer it. So long as the constitution of the House of Lords exists, the products will be the same. The question now is, whether the people's desire for good government is greater than their attachment to the ancient institution incompatible with good government? They will soon have to make the election; and if they prefer the Hereditary Legislature, let them

bend their necks to the yoke, and cease to complain that it galls them. What it does, it must do; and if they take it, they must take it with the properties of its nature. If Sinbad likes to have the Old Man of the Sea upon his shoulders, don't let him complain of being throttled, and kicked, and starved. The burden must be borne, with all its necessary circumstances; and it is folly to make moan about the inevitable consequences of a choice. People that like an irresponsible legislature, should say of its decrees, like Eastern slaves, "To hear is to obey;" and in that case, as it were idle to have two powers of the State pulling different ways, the Reform Bill should be repealed, the Rotten Boroughs restored to our Lords and Masters, and a Schedule A and B of decayed places should supersede the few traces of popular Representation. Is the thought inviting?

DISSOLUTION OF THE GREY GOVERNMENT.

THE worst measure of the Grey Ministry has proved its destruction—the Coercion Act has been the rock upon which it has split—it has been wrecked upon the very thing for which it most deserved to perish. In this end there seems to be one of those retributive dispensations that bear

the name of poetic justice, and in this instance the poetic is political justice. A catastrophe more suited to the fault could not have been conceived. Lord Grey has fallen in straining measures against Ireland, as the Duke of Wellington fell in the attempt to uphold Parliamentary Corruption.

We learn, from Lord Althorp's explanation, that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland was of opinion that the clauses relating to meetings in the Coercion Act might be dispensed with, and that he, Lord Althorp, therefore objected to their re-enactment, as did also Mr Cutlar Fergusson, Mr Spring Rice, Mr Abercrombie, and Mr Ellice. They however were the minority in the Cabinet, and the question arising, whether they should yield or break up the Ministry, they thought proper to give way, and acquiesced in the more violent counsels. The Cabinet had thus resolved on the re-enactment, but the point upon which there had been a difference was a festering place which would not bear exposure, and when it appeared in debate, that Mr O'Connell had the clue to the truth through the frankness of Mr Littleton's communication, Lord Althorp saw the impossibility of carrying the measure, and his resignation involved that of Earl Grey and the dissolution of the Government. Had the disputed clauses been dropped, all difficulties would have been avoided, and therefore we say that Lord Grey fell in straining measures against Ireland.

Lord Althorp has been blamed for resigning, or the sufficiency of the cause has been questioned. He had given an unwilling consent to the renewal of the clauses he disapproved, he was prepared to advocate a measure to which he had in his heart important objections, but he was not prepared to act this part before a public informed of its hollowness. He would have said that it was all good, if Mr Littleton had not given Mr O'Connell the clue to proving that, in his Lordship's opinion, a main point was bad. His morality would have allowed him to enact the approver if he could have done so with a show of sincerity—if he could have concealed the discrepancy between the advocacy and the conviction, and also the adverse opinion of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; but Mr O'Connell, by favour of Mr Littleton, had peeped under the mask, and shame refused what conscience would have permitted. While we make these remarks upon a point of political moralitiy, we are willing to give Lord Althorp all credit for his repugnance to the political clauses of the Coercion Act, and his judgment in this particular instance improves our opinion of his dispositions; but we must regret that he did not give them fairer play, and that he did not do at first, for honesty, what he has done at last from necessity.

It is remarkable that, upon the question of the degree of coercion necessary for Ireland, the Cabinet was divided for or against oppressive measures precisely as the individuals were Members

of the House of Lords or Members of the House of Commons. All the Commoners in the Ministry were opposed to the obnoxious clauses (excepting, perhaps, Lord Palmerston); all the Lords insisted on them. Thus this schism expresses the great conflict in the State, between the Hereditary and the Representative powers.

We shall not affect regret at the dissolution of the Grey Ministry—we regarded its re-construction with derision, and we look upon its downfal with indifference. As for Lord Grey, he rendered all the service he was capable of rendering, and more than he contemplated, in carrying the Reform Bill. If we supposed that, in giving us reform, he proposed to give us the objects for which reform is precious as a means, he would be entitled to a large share of gratitude; but it is clear that Lord Grey did not see the scope of the measure upon which his fame as a statesman is based. He would have placed a barren sceptre in the people's hands. He has given them power, and would oppose its uses. He gave them the keys of their House, and would have set his shoulder against the door to resist "the constant and active pressure from without."* He is a short-sighted statesman, cast with old notions upon new times, one of the St James's-street school, whose political world is made up of the Throne and the two Houses, and who have not learnt to read a destiny in the public

* Letter to Lord Ebrington.

mind. Twenty, nay, ten years ago, he would have made a great statesman, but the age has outgrown him. Any minister who now dallies with odious abuses, and trifles with grievances, will be shrunk to pigmy proportions and pigmy helplessness within the demands of redress which will grow up in mighty masses around him. There is no running an arrear of justice in these times, without being overwhelmed by it. A statesman is like a traveller in a snow-storm, he must keep moving on or be smothered; and if he gives way to the disposition to slumber, he perishes. An imperfect comprehension of the circumstances with which he had to do—an exaggeration of one set of formal powers, and an under estimate of the substantial forces, are all that we impute to Lord Grey;—as to moral character, we believe that a more honourable man never existed. There was the dignity of truth in every word that dropt from him—a suspicion of evasion could never enter the thoughts of any one who heard or read his speeches. Everything that came from him, however questionable in matter, bore the stamp of honour. He is a man over whose truth no cloud has passed—it has been ever fulgent. In all that he ever said there was a moral dignity, which commanded respect, and saved his feeblest conclusions from contempt. No one could deride Lord Grey, however much he might disapprove. His last speech was the only speech he ever made unworthy of a noble consciousness.

THE MELBOURNE MINISTRY.

FORMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

THE Ministry has been repaired, and a very handsome thing it is. A piece has been taken out of one place to make it a head, and another has been thrust into the vacancy; and a new bit has been added, and "the right arm"* screwed on again, and it is as good as new. A great pleasure it should be to the country to see how easy a thing it is to make it a Government. Last week there lay a headless, armless trunk, and within eight days it is made whole, and presents itself to Parliament as well as ever. We should be very thankful for an indestructible Government. We have an article that wears well, a thing of good durable stuff, that you may knock about, and hew and hack, and find just as good after every damage; take from it, and take from it, and take from it as you please, and you find it yet as good as, or better than ever. As for breaking up, it obviously agrees with its constitution, and it gains in the places of

* Lord Althorp was described by Lord Grey as his "right arm."

fracture. If it were knocked to pieces once a fortnight, it is impossible to say what an excellent Government we might have, even before the end of the session. The happy circumstance seems to be this, that whatever is taken from its strength goes to the account of its virtue. In Swift's 'Wonder of Wonders' it has no parallel. Grey was its boast, its guarantee, its tutelary genius, while Grey was with it; but now that he is gone, the change is seen to be for the better. It cannot be denied that we have got a thing that is susceptible of mending to a wonderful, and as it seems to us, inexhaustible degree.

The principles of the Melbourne Ministry, it is stated, are to be the principles of the Grey Government; or to explain the matter with the distinctness of Lord Althorp, the Government is to be what it ought to be—taking care that the remedies are neither more nor less than they should be, and at once proper for the people and safe to the institutions of the country. The definiteness of these terms cannot be too much admired; indeed, so admirable are they, and of such proved popularity, that they have been employed by every Government for the last century, only with some more artificial flourishes, covering the nothingness of the explanation.

FRIVOLOUS AND VEXATIOUS LEGISLATION.

THE Committee appointed to inquire into the Drunkenness of the nation have made so foolish a report, that a third of the House voted against printing it. According to the representation of Mr Hawes, they contemplated the prohibition of the importation and distillation of spirits, and they discussed the expediency of forbidding the brewing of beer above a certain strength. Mr Buckingham having (very intemperately for the member of such a Committee) impugned the truth of Mr Hawes's statement of the matter in the report, averring that—

"Non-importation and non-distillation were only "spoken of hypothetically, as a possible result with "the progress of knowledge and the increase of "morality, when the people at large should become "convinced of the evil of ardent spirits.

"Mr O'Dwyer moved that the part of the report, "headed 'Ultimate and Prospective Remedies,' be "read by the clerk.

"It was read accordingly, and bore out the re-"presentation of it made by Mr Hawes as to the "non-importation and non-distillation of spirits,

"excepting for medicinal purposes, so that they "might in time be confined to the shops of che- "mists and apothecaries."

The fact is, that this is another manifestation of the Agnew spirit. The precious Sir Andrew was upon the Committee, and Mr Buckingham having for some time past been obviously a candidate for the honours of saintship, sat at the feet of the spiritual Quixote. When other means of rising into importance fail, these are the quackeries which serve in an age of Cant:—"What a good man Mr —— is! he would put a stop to that horrid drunkenness." "What a good man Mr —— is! he would put a stop to that barbarous duelling." "What a good man Mr —— is! he would put a stop to that filthy smoking." "What a good man Alderman —— is! he would put a stop to omnibuses and great broad-wheeled waggons." "What a good man Mr —— is! he would put a stop to the eating of unripe plums and the swallowing of cherry-stones!" There are a thousand things which it would be most desirable to "put a stop to," if the balance of evil did not lie on the side of the attempt at prevention. It needs no ghost to tell us that all excesses are bad, but are the uses to be abolished because temperance may be occasionally exceeded? The poor labourers drink too much—a law then against liquor. The rich citizens eat too much—a law then against turtle and venison, prohibit made dishes, allow no drawn gravies, forbid soups, and let no

mutton broth exceed a certain strength. Look at the gouty legs, the bloated faces, and red noses about the town. See the number of Clubs; smell the steams of the kitchens; observe the deaths by apoplexy—assume an increase of gormandizing, and appoint a Committee to inquire into it. Why does not the world dine on a mutton-chop? Nature requires no more. Make it penal to put more than one sort of meat on the table. Enact that at Clubs the viands shall not be eaten on the premises, for when men dine together they indulge more freely in eating and drinking. Limit the breeding of sheep and oxen, so as to fix the supply proportionately to the absolute wants, and short of the excesses of luxury. Let chickens be only sold by the apothecaries to sick people. Teach children to abhor pastry and desserts. Impose heavy penalties on any nobleman, gentleman, rich merchant, or other, who is detected with a full stomach. Any man who cannot walk lightly and actively after dinner must be punished. Any sign of heaviness should, like the stammering or reeling of the toper, warrant the imposition of a penalty.

But it may be said gormandizing is not attended with the ill consequences of drinking; yet it has its mischiefs, for some men eat away large estates as others drink away small earnings; and further, we see in Acts of Parliament the vexations which pudding-headed men inflict after dinner. In all the meddling it is easy to trace the class which legis-

lates. If laws were made by the poor, we should have committees sitting to inquire into the increase of gallantry and gaming, and all the profligacies of fashion.

However desirable it may be that there should be less intoxication, we believe that, on the whole, the vice is on the decline, and that the people are becoming more sober, in exact proportion to their advances in civilization. Mr Place, than whom there is no man better acquainted with the habits and condition, past and present, of the working classes, says:—

"Drunkenness is no longer the prevailing and "conspicuous vice among workmen. The very "meanest and least informed being much more "sober as a class, much more orderly and decent, "and much more cleanly in their persons, than "were those who, in former times, were far above "them in respect to the amount of wages they re- "ceived; whilst the most skilled and best paid are, "as classes, more sober, more moral, and better in- "formed than were the generality of their em- "ployers at the time alluded to."

We see with great satisfaction that Lord John Russell, having referred to a passage in the report, in which the Committee expressed their hope that in the next session of Parliament his Majesty's Ministers would introduce some general and comprehensive measure on the subject, stated that, for himself, he would be no party to any such understanding.

The meddling spirit of the Committee upon Drunkenness is the same that we trace in such projects for vexatious legislation as the bills for imbittering the Sabbath, and for making it impossible for any one to undertake the driving of cabs, omnibuses, and waggons through the streets of London. We have now a specimen before us of what the busy bodies, the Marplots of the Legislature, are capable of proposing. In the Bill *as amended by the Committee*, for the regulation of Hackney Carriages (which is only postponed, and will be pushed on next session) it is enacted that if, after commencing a journey, the carriage shall be driven at a slower pace than five miles in an hour, the driver shall, for every such offence, forfeit any sum not exceeding ten shillings, and it shall be lawful for any passenger to quit such carriage without paying any fare.

The sages who proposed this enactment, must suppose that every one is a competent judge of the rate at which a carriage is proceeding, and able to distinguish to a second or a yard whether the vehicle is hitting the prescribed speed or falling short of it; though so far is this critical calculation of speed from being common, that at a late inquest upon the death of a gentleman by the upsetting of a Brighton coach, witnesses described the horses as *running away* at the rate, as they said, of *seven or eight miles an hour*. Imagine, then, the tor-

ments of a driver subject to all the erroneous estimates of impatience!—"Stop the omnibus, and let me out, you are not going five miles an hour." How lucrative, too, will be the business, when the passenger upon getting out, has only to answer the demand for the fare by saying—"I shall not pay you a farthing. You drove such and such a distance at less than the rate of five miles an hour." In the same beautiful specimen of busybody legislation, penalties are imposed on the drivers of waggons, the wheels of which are more than fourteen inches distant from the curb stone except in passing any other waggon, and they may not pass any but waggons, and must stop for carriages till they move off; for loss of time is treated by the framers of this Bill as of no moment to the business in which waggons are concerned. Conceive the consummate artist, the nice measurer of inch and barleycorn distances, who could keep his waggon wheels invariably within the fixed distance, and the Act allows nothing for jolts or turning corners; indeed a waggon could not turn a corner after the passing of this Act, for the sweep could not possibly be made within the prescribed distance. This difficulty is, however, very likely to escape Legislators, to whom turning is as easy as it is to tetotums. But who would venture to drive a waggon after such a Bill became law? What rare qualities would be requisite in the wag-

goner; what skill in mensuration; what comprehensive view, taking in what is before and the bearings and distance of the footpath behind; what a correct and accurately judging eye, what a fixedness of attention, ever watching the line of the curb-stone, and measuring the fourteen inches within which, and not a hair's breadth without, the broad wheel is to turn according to law; and what paragons of horses must be in his team, for a start, a stumble, the deviation of a shy would carry the waggon out of the rule of law, and subject the unhappy driver to penalties. To keep the line in any walk of life is a work of some merit, but what would it be in waggon-driving by Act of Parliament!

LORD BROUGHAM AND THE HOUSE OF PEERS.

Lord Brougham has the usual fate of those who endeavour to please all parties—he pleases none. He offends and he flatters all in turn, but his flatteries have no acceptation where his offences have rankled, and his flattery of one contending party is new offence to the other. He prodigiously over-

rates his powers of cajolery. The best that he could hope would be to order his estimation like the two buckets in a well, one of which rises on the one side, while its fellow falls on the other; but his is all descent—he does not rise on any side —for he cannot contrive matters so as to have one reputation for the Whigs, and one for Tories; one for the Radicals, and another for the High Aristocrats; one for the Churchmen, and another for the Dissenters. His misfortune is, that he cannot split his political character as he would split his office; and the public, who see the Lord Brougham of to-day remember the Lord Brougham of yesterday, and will not receive his parts separately. They will join together his characters, and view him like *Mrs Malaprop's* Cerberus, as "three gentlemen in one." Like Mathews, he plays a monopolylogue, but whether we see the old Scotchwoman in Lincoln's Inn Hall, or the Major Longbow in the House of Lords, we know that the identical Brougham is under each disguise. The changes are rapid, we admit, but still all the world knows that they are but changes, with tricks of grimace, and the Chancellor is not on the stage on which they would have their applause. Things have their places and season. The transformations and double tongue of Mathews are pleasant in his theatre, but no one desires to see *Three and the Deuce* played in the Cabinet or the House of

Peers. We can laugh at the buffooneries of the circle at Astley's, but it is ill to hear the jeer, "What next, Mr Merryman?" in the Court of Chancery.

It is sufficiently well known that we are no friends to the Hereditary Legislature; but we can assure Lord Brougham that we, in common with all others of our political opinions with whom we have happened to converse, have seen with any feelings but those of satisfaction the taunts and insults to the Lords, in which he has been pleased so freely to indulge. We dislike the institution; we think it based on a false principle, but for that very reason we would be more indulgent to errors which are but necessary products of the fault inherent in the constitution. The Lords' tenure of power is independent of qualification, and without responsibility; holding authority on these terms, we admire their public virtues, when they have them, far more than we blame the vices to which their tenure of power so strongly disposes them. We see what long Parliaments render men, not ill-disposed, in the House of Commons; we see how the fear of dissolution makes cowards of them all, and crouching slaves to any Ministry that can hold the House together. Can we then wonder at the faults of the Lords, having for life the legislative authority, which is observed to be liable to abuse in direct proportion to the term of its posses-

sion, and added to this, they acquire it without any necessity for qualification? It is idle to upbraid and menace these men for their uses of power; as it is put in their hands without conditions, they feel that they are entitled to exercise it according to the discretion which they happen to possess together with their privileges. Whigs and Radicals are not the only men in the world who believe themselves right. Tory Lords may believe themselves right, and the powers with which they are, in our opinion, so impoliticly invested, they will exercise even as conscientious men, according to their notion of right, wrong as that notion may really be.

As the Peers are under no necessity of qualifying themselves for the exercise of Legislative authority, and as their condition is one of ease and luxury, they are likely to be deficient in mental discipline and all the fruits of laborious application; and our only wonder is, that so much of ability and attainment is to be found where there are causes in operation so adverse to both. But were they lower in intellect and accomplishments than they appear, yet being what the institution and their circumstances have made them, we think that the good-breeding of the humanities should forbear from making their deficiencies the subject of jeers and insulting reproach. In this respect we think the Chancellor has erred. The "low Radicals,"

we can assert, have expressed their dissatisfaction at the Chancellor's treatment of the Lords. They feel that the Lords are entitled to as much consideration, at least, as any other company of individuals; and they cannot imagine any set of men whom it would be becoming to taunt incessantly as dolts and ignoramuses.

Lord Brougham has, we suspect, little notion of the popular reception of his sharp things. The Duke of Cumberland is certainly not in the favour of the country, but that sneer at the "illustrious by courtesy" was considered as a wanton rudeness by persons not pretending to any special refinement. Various other instances might be quoted, but the notoriety of the Chancellor's bearing towards the House saves us the trouble; and, after all this, at the close of the Session, out he comes with the following preposterous panegyric:—

"No impartial man who had watched the pro-
"ceedings of the last two years, could have failed
"to perceive that if there had been no House of
"Lords, the House of Commons must have stopped
"its legislation, or if it had worked on it would
"have been covered with blunders and absurdities.
"He spoke with all due respect for the House of
"Commons, for which he felt veneration. It was
"not their fault that they committed errors, they
"must of necessity do so. With the competition
"which prevailed amongst 658 men, who were
"constantly striving one with another, it was im-

" possible that the details of measures could receive " the same calm and deliberate attention which they " obtained in their Lordships' House, where none " of those distractions prevailed. The Noble and " Learned Lord then adverted to what he called " the notable clause in the Justice of the Peace " Bill, which the Commons insisted upon retaining, " as a proof of absurd legislation. Their Lord- " ships had improved that and several other mea- " sures, and if, when they had the knife in their " hands, cutting away the rotten parts, they should " sometimes happen to go too far, and cut off the " head, of which there had been a recent example, " allowance should be made for them. If a sur- " geon should cut too far, or not in the right direc- " tion, who would be so ridiculous as on that " account to propose to blunt his knife, and prevent " him from operating at all?"

As for the Chancellor's praise of the House of Lords, its parallel is only to be found in the grossest buffooneries. In a Pantomime, when the Clown, with half moons painted on his cheeks, has with hearty kick and cuff knocked down Pantaloon with his aristocratic pig-tail and red heels, the aggressor roars out, " Poor fellow! what a shame!" and sets the lean and slippered personage on his legs again, with all pretences of concern and affection; then he fetches a mop and dips it in the kennel, and begins washing him clean (as he says) with the muddy water, which makes him all the

fouler, and he takes a blacking brush and brushes the dust off his clothes with such success, as to leave him as black as a crow, and then roars out that a gentleman should be polished, and finishes him for a walking advertisement of Warren; and after this toilette of disfigurement, under pretence of adornment, he turns him round with tongue in cheek and roguish leer, and bawls out, "Isn't he a nice article!" for the derision of the spectators.

Lord Brougham's praise of the Lords places him in this dilemma; it is either a hypocrisy, or he has acted most unworthily in treating with disrespect members of so valuable an institution. But if any opinions which proceed from the Chancellor can be received as sincere opinions, he has left no doubt, in the minds of those who know what passes in the world, as to what his real opinions are of the qualifications of the Lords for legislation. When, indeed, he speaks of the superiority of the House of Lords to the Commons, as "with the competition that prevailed amongst "658 men who are constantly striving one with "another, it was impossible that the details of "measures could receive the same calm and deli-"berate attention which they obtained in their "Lordships' House, where none of those distrac-"tions prevailed,"—it looks like a piece of irony; for in the Lords a banded majority, which, if Tory report be true, are much more really "His Majesty's Opposition," than the Ministry is his

Majesty's Government, are not indeed striving one with another, but striving, as with one soul and one body, as with one heart and one hand, to defeat every measure that is proposed for the redress of public grievances, the abatement of abuses, and the improvement of institutions. They are not corrective checks on the crude or clumsy legislation of the Commons—and crude and clumsy it often indeed is, under the Althorp auspices—but they are the pledged destroyers of every liberal and popular measure that is brought before them. Their House is the barrier of good. Without a spice of mischief, there is no pass.

THE CHANCELLOR IN THE NORTH.

At Inverness the Chancellor has "outdone his late undoings." He told the company that he knew his flattering reception was not referable to any merit in himself, but merely to the fact of his being servant to a Monarch who lives in the hearts of his subjects, and he assured the good company that he would write by that night's post, to tell the King that he lived in the hearts of the burgesses of Inverness, as he was confident that the news would make his Majesty happy. We quote

the words as reported in the *Inverness Courier*, and as copied into the Brougham papers:—

"He said he could not easily express his feel-
"ings at the flattering manner in which he had
"been received by so great a number of his fellow
"subjects, who appeared to concur in the address
"of their worthy chief magistrate. He was con-
"scious that it was not owing to any personal
"merit that he had received this mark of distinc-
"tion at their hands. First of all, he owed it to
"the circumstance that he had the honour of
"serving a Monarch who lived in the hearts of
"his subjects. (Cheers). He had enjoyed the
"honour of serving that Prince for nearly four
"years, and during that time he had experienced
"from his Majesty only one series of gracious
"condescension, confidence, and favour. To find
"that he lived in the hearts of his loyal subjects
"in the ancient and important capital of the
"Highlands, as it had afforded him (Lord
"Brougham) only pure and unmixed satisfaction,
"would, he was confident, be so received by his
"Majesty, when he (Lord B.) told him, as he
"would do by that night's post (cheers) of the
"gratifying circumstance."

Brave news, indeed, for the King! Supposing Lord Brougham to have been as foolish as his word, how great must have been the amazement of his Majesty on receiving a post letter from his Chancellor, informing him that he lived in the

hearts of the burgesses of Inverness! But here is encouragement to boroughs to entertain Lord Brougham; if they make much of him, he will tell the King what good people they are by the night's post. There is nothing in farce to exceed this, and we recommend the idea to Kenny or Buckstone. Reeve, so rich in Magog the Beadle, would be exquisitely droll in Magog the Chancellor, assuring the burgesses at a town-feast that he would write home to the King, and tell him what good fellows they are, their loyalty being measured by their feasting and cheering him, the said Magog. Upon every petty occasion the promise or the threat, "I'll write to the King by this night's post," might be introduced with the broadest farcical effect. If Magog the Chancellor has an unaired night-cap at an inn, he should write to the King about it by that night's post, and inform him that he does not live in the heart of the chambermaid. And when, on the other hand, Magog the Chancellor is well cared for, and treated with the dish of flummery which his soul loveth, he should write to the King by that night's post, and assure him that he lives in the hearts of his Chancellor's entertainers. Our farce-writers are dull dogs indeed, if they do not draw on the materials which our great law authority is so copiously affording. To borrow from the French while we have a Brougham, like a Matthews, "at Home," were indeed inexcusable. "The Chan-

cellor at Inverness, or I'll write to the King!" would be a most taking title in the play-bills.

But what follows is no joke. Magog finding the people of Inverness so loyal, with a King lodging in their hearts, proclaims that his Majesty's Government has done its best, and that little is now to be expected from it.

"If," says Lord Brougham, "we have done little last session, I fear we shall do less in the next." Here is promise! Here is justification of Lord Brougham's eulogists! Surely, upon hearing such news, the good people of Inverness must have felt that it was time for them to write to the King, and to remind him that he lived not only in their hearts, but also in their pockets; and that there were various particulars in which they desired a relief, of which the keeper of his Royal conscience was teaching them to despair.

Let Reformers who have clung to faith in Lord Brougham attend to the following declaration, by which it appears that he has lingered behind his colleagues even in their slow march of improvement. And it is remarkable that the articles in the *Edinburgh Review*, attributed to him, advised the do-little policy which he regrets has not been sufficiently observed:—

"One set accuses us of doing too much, and "another of doing nothing. I believe they are "honest in the bulk, both one and the other. One "set says we move too slowly,—that is safely; the

27165

" other as pertinaciously contend that we are going " too fast. One set, from honest prejudices, are " against all improvements, because they are satis- " fied with things as they are, and believe they " cannot be made better. I respect them, but " differ from them. Another set think we never " do any thing. You open the trade to China, and " you abolish slavery (which were the work of one " session), and yet we are told the session did " nothing. *My own opinion is, that we have done* " *too much rather than too little, though it was* " *necessary to do justice, and lay the foundation* " *of future good government.* Less was necessa- " rily done last session than the former, because, if " you open the trade to China one year, you do " not want to open it the next. (A laugh). If you " set the slaves free in 1833, there are no slaves to " liberate in 1834. If you reform the Court of " Chancery in one session of Parliament, the same " task is not left to the succeeding session. Yet " we have done something lately. We have made " some useful reforms in the law, and, above all, " we have carried reformation into a system which " you in Scotland are happily free from—a system " mischievous in itself, and still more mischievously " administered—I allude to the poor laws. If " Government had done nothing else in ten years, " it would have deserved well of the country. *If* " *we have done little last session, I fear we shall* " *do less in the next.*"

It may be said that the Chancellor's remark, that "If little was done last session, less will be done in the next," is not to be understood as menace, but as corollary to the proposition that reforms are exhaustible—that he meant to say, "The more you "do the less you can have to do, and what is done "in one year diminishes the occasions for doing in "the next." But charitably supposing this to have been his meaning, it is an idle sophistry. The fallacy may easily be exposed by a familiar illustration. Let us suppose that we have to journey to Edinburgh. It is quite true that every mile we leave behind us diminishes, by so much, the distance before us, but what should we say to a coachman who, having begun by driving ten miles an hour, slackened his speed at every stage till the horses crawled along at the rate of a mile an hour, and, in answer to our remonstrances, held forth thus?—

"The horses will go on, but they will not make "one step till they are sure of the ground on which "they made the former. They will not scamper, "neck or nothing. I have heard the complaints "of the passengers, but I don't care a button. "One set of folks, the masters of the opposition "coach, the *Stick-in-the-mud*, accuse me of driving too fast; and another set, my passengers, say "I go too slow. You went the Barnet stage ten "miles in the hour, and yet, now that we are going "a more advanced stage, at a good mile an hour,

" you put your heads out of window, and cry out " that I am going to sleep on the road. Less is, of " necessity, done this hour than the last, because, " if you go the Barnet stage at six o'clock, you do " not want to travel the Barnet stage at eight " o'clock. If you go to Hatfield at seven o'clock, " there is no Hatfield stage to be run at nine " o'clock. If you travel one stage in one hour, " the same job is not left to the succeeding hour. " If we have travelled over little ground in the last " hour, I am sure we shall travel over less in the " next hour, and good reason why, since, when we " set out we were 370 miles from Edinburgh, and " now we are only 300 miles from Edinburgh, " and as there is less distance to go over, we may " be more and more leisurely in travelling the " stages, doing, in each that comes, less than in " the one before."

No one would be satisfied with this method of proceeding on a journey, and Reformers, though they admit that the distance between them and their goal is exhaustible, or that their journey has an end, see no reason why the sessional stages should not be completed with all the despatch consisting with safety.

LORD BROUGHAM'S DINNER CIRCUIT CONTINUED.

We are still under the necessity of observing the various phases of Lord Brougham.

We left him conservative at Inverness, but, changing his opinions as often as his horses, by the time he got to Dundee he was downright revolutionary in argument, though very constitutional in professions. Here we may say that he was at the full; at Edinburgh he waned.

At Aberdeen he attempted to reconcile the praise he had bestowed on the Commons, in his speech to the Libel Committee, with his contemptuous remarks upon it in the House of Lords just before the prorogation. He stated that he had said, and would repeat, that the world offered no example of an assembly more grave, more pure and spotless, more marked by profound legislative wisdom, than this present reformed House of Commons; but then, he added, it had sent up two or three bills which required the correcting hand of the Lords, and the Lords deserved well of the country for correcting those bills. Now the obvious question upon this explanation is, whether the Chancellor was warranted in describing, as he undeniably did, the

House of Commons as capable of covering itself with blunders and absurdities unless restrained by the Lords, merely because it had sent up two or three bills requiring correction?

Having affirmed that a House of Lords was necessary to correct the errors of the Commons, his Lordship, with characteristic disdain of consistency, proceeded to confess the prevalence of *unfortunate prejudices* in the House, to which he had assigned the more deliberate capacity and the superior judgment! This was leaving the Lords in sufficiently bad repute, for we know of no more fatal objection to men, either originating legislation or sitting in judgment on the legislation of others, than the prevalence of *unfortunate prejudices.* But at Dundee he showed the case to be still worse. He there admitted lamentable defects in the Upper House, and attributed them to ignorance, and the want of the diffusion of knowledge amongst its members. But yet he proceeded to affirm that it would be very foolish to assert that no House of Lords should exist, and he ended with an assurance that knowledge would, in time, reach its members, in the same way as a similar advantage has reached, and is in progress of reaching, the other members of the community. And, meanwhile, he contends that the body, yet untouched by knowledge, and swayed by "unfortunate prejudices," is corrective of the haste and oversights of the representatives of the better informed people. The substance of the reasoning is this:

The House of Commons is an assembly of unparalleled legislative wisdom, but it is liable to error, and there must be another House to correct such other.

The House of Lords is an assembly influenced by "unfortunate prejudices" and unpenetrated by knowledge, and being such as it is, so blind and wrong-headed, it is competent to correct the errors of the assembly of the profoundest legislative wisdom.

The effect of this is not that the blind should lead the blind, but that the best sight should be put under the guidance of the lame and blind, or that the lynx should be led by the bat.

As for the discovery that the defects of the Peers are referable to the want of diffusion of knowledge amongst them, the merit does not belong to the Lord Chancellor. We find that great truth first developed in Foote's *Mayor of Garratt*, and it is what the newspapers call a curious coincidence that the propounder is a Mr Primmer, "a man of learning, that can lay down the law," and a schoolmaster abroad. The following is in the scene of the election:—

"*Snuf.* The next upon the list is Peter Primmer "the schoolmaster.

"*Heel.* Ay, neighbours, and a sufficient man, let "me tell you. Master Primmer is the man for my "money; a man of learning, that can lay down the "law; why, adzooks, he is wise enough to puzzle

" the parson; and, then, how you have heard him " oration at the Adam and Eve of a Saturday night, " about Russia and Prussia! Ecod, George Gage " the exciseman is nothing at all to un.

" *4th Mob.* A Primmer!

" *Heel.* Ah, if the folks above did but know him! " why, lads, *he will make us all statesmen in time.*

" *2d Mob.* Indeed!

" *Heel. Why, he swears as how all the miscar-* " *riages are owing to the great people's not learning* " *to read.*

" *3d Mob.* Indeed!

" *Heel.* For, says Peter, says he, if they would " but once submit to be learned by me, there is no " knowing to what a pitch the nation might rise.

" *1st Mob.* Ay, I wish they would."

The plagiary is manifest, and the prototype of our great man is now made known. Lord Brougham is Peter the Second.

The following is the Chancellor's creed:—

" I am a friend to the British Constitution, con- " sisting of King, consisting of Lords, and consist- " ing of Commons; and I hold that he is the enemy " of all who is not a friend to the whole three. " There are conscientious men who are Republi- " cans, but I do consider that man deluded who " thinks that there should be no Lords, and who " wishes to produce a state of things which would " end with no King."

Why, every reasonable man must think so, if he

rates the Lords as Lord Brougham rates them. No one, who believes the Peers to be ignorant and swayed by "unfortunate prejudices," can suppose them useful or trustworthy in any province of legislative or judicial authority. The Chancellor gives the dog a bad name, and protests against hanging him. He says, the dog has a most unfortunate prejudice against water, and a most capricious tooth; but, mad as he is, it is necessary to have a watch-dog. True, people will say, but it is not necessary to have a dog with an unfortunate prejudice against water, and an ugly way with his tooth, for a watch; and, by your good leave, my Lord, we will hang this particular dog, with your bad name round his neck, and provide ourselves with another, of different qualities.

The whole scope of the Chancellor's argument is that of the Quaker in the sea-fight, in the old story—who, deprecating war, and protesting against any act of hostility, showed how ill-disposed men, by clapping the helm hard down, and letting fly the fore-sheets, might throw a most unchristian and decisively destructive raking fire into the enemy's vessel.

Lord Brougham has argued that the House of Peers, with the faults of prejudice and ignorance, is essential; and contents himself with a hope that its members will become in time as enlightened and well-informed as the operative classes have become or are becoming. Or he argues that the

people are in advance of the Lords in knowledge, but that their House, representative of the better instructed classes, should be subject to the restraint of the ignorant and prejudiced Peers. The Commons, it is true, may err; but are the ignorant and prejudiced competent to distinguish between what is sound and what is defective, or to correct errors if they happen to detect and disapprove them? The best surgeon may miscarry in an operation, but when he fails should the carpenter be called in with his adze and saw—or is the carpenter qualified in every case to judge whether the surgeon is doing what is right, and to lop off limbs which the other sets and splints? To the Chancellor the idea of the Lords cutting off the heads of measures now and then, instead of paring the nails, is an excellent joke—but it is not relished by the country. His Lordship's pleasantry upon the method of correction by destruction reminds us of the description of *Blue Beard's* manner of improving his wives—

> Some husbands, soon after the wife plays the fool,
> Will argue the point with her calmly and cool;
> But our Bashaw don't relish debates of that sort,
> Cuts the woman as well as the argument short.

So our Bashaws, to the great amusement of the Lord Chancellor, cut the measure, as well as the flaw in it, short; or they cut it short if it have no flaw, but a virtue invasive of their blue chamber.

At the Edinburgh dinner Earl Grey delivered a

dignified speech, in which he disposed of the idle Tory pretence of a re-action. As to the circumstances which led to his resignation he was silent, and the public seem disposed to carry the omission to the account of Lord Brougham. The Chancellor spoke next. He repeated the boast of throwing open the China trade (which the preceding Tory Ministry designed), and the Slave Emancipation (which was no miracle, accomplished at a cost of twenty millions of money), and he went over the hackneyed sophistries in which he confounds progress with precipitation, and, on the other hand, identifies delay with deliberation.

"We shall go on (said the Chancellor) in our "course, heedless of the attacks of these hasty "spirts; for they come from men of much honesty, "of hasty zeal, but of no reflection at all. They "would travel to the object which they have in "view, but they are in such a hurry to get at the "goal three minutes before me, that they will "not wait to see whether the linch-pin is in the "wheel."

It is one thing to see that the linch-pin is secure, and it is another to pass one's days in looking at the linch-pin, in order to make sure of a safe journey. But it is not for steady driving that Lord Brougham would contend; no one can rattle on more heedlessly than he in a cross lane, but he is averse to the broad road of constitutional and ecclesiastical reforms. Does he think that his political

fortunes lie in a Royal road, declining from the popular high-ways?

Again, at Edinburgh, he was jocose upon the impossibility of doing this year what had been done last—"We could not, indeed, make the slaves "more free than we had already made them. We "could not make the China trade more open than "we had already made it." So, when Boniface is asked what food his house affords, he answers, "We had a delicate loin of veal yesterday;" and disposes of the demand for mutton to-day, by quoting the glorious round of beef of last week. Why does the Chancellor order a dinner to-day? Did he not eat mutton yesterday? To what end does he answer the cravings of his appetite? If he eats to-day, won't he be hungry again to-morrow? Let him content himself with thinking, for a week to come, of what he ate yesterday; and let him *deliberate* for another week upon the next meal he shall allow himself. Gluttony is to be deprecated; indigestion to be dreaded: people cannot be too cautious what they eat, so let us fast for a fortnight. Anacreon was choked with a grape-stone; it is most perilous to put anything down one's throat. A man, of the caution recommended by the Chancellor, should pause for a month before he ventures to swallow. The pattern of prudence was the lady in the 'Arabian Nights' who ate rice with a bodkin, but she was a Goule, who supped solidly in a burial-yard, off dead bodies; and, like her, some

of those folks who nibble so daintily and deliberately in legislation, will, in a trice, bolt a coercion bill with the fetters of a nation.

The Chancellor's fallacies and misrepresentations did not pass unexposed. A severe chastisement awaited him. Lord Durham, in reply, made an admirable speech—admirable in readiness, condensed argument, aptitude, and spirit. It hit the Goliah in the centre of the forehead, and laid him low. Yet it lays open our noble champion to one reproach, and that is, that he does not more frequently put forth the powers that are in him. Such a passage as we are about to quote, conceived and delivered on the spur of the occasion, in reply (the great trial of oratory) shows the resources and vigour of the speaker, his fulness of thought, his prompt command of it, his fire, and steady nerve. The condensation is remarkable. It is lion's marrow:—

"I know very well that there are some con-
"scientious men who differ from me on this point;
"but these are, in my opinion, the only measures
"by which can be attained safety to the property
"of the rich, expansion to the industrious energies
"of the poor, and security for those institutions of
"the country which are all essential to good
"government. (Cheers.) I know that there are
"many persons who think that there is ground of
"apprehension from the increased privileges
"recently given to those who did not previously

" possess them. I am not one who entertains any " such distrust. *They have proportionally as* " *much at stake as we have—they are equally inte-* " *rested in the preservation of order; and when I* " *look to their industry and intelligence, I am con-* " *fident that the privileges with which they are now* " *invested will not be abused.* (Cheers.) Be that, " however, as it may, it was necessary that the " experiment should be made. First of all govern- " ment went on without the people, next it went " on in spite of the people, and now the expe- " riment must be tried whether it cannot go on " with the people. (Great cheers.) I sincerely " and honestly believe that it can so go on, and " that you may depend on the co-operation of the " people in support of all the institutions of the " country which you deem most valuable. (Cheers.) " One word more, and I have done. (Cries of " 'No, no,' 'Go on.') *My noble and learned* " *friend* (Lord Brougham) *has been pleased to give* " *some advice, which I have no doubt he deems very* " *sound, to some classes of persons—I know none* " *such—who evince too strong a desire to get rid of* " *ancient abuses, and fretful impatience in awaiting* " *the remedies of them. Now I frankly confess* " *that I am one of those persons who see with* " *regret every hour which passes over the existence* " *of recognised and unreformed abuses.* (Immense " cheering.) I am, however, perfectly willing to " accept the correction of them as deliberately as

"our rulers, and my noble friend among them, "can wish; but on one condition, and on one "condition alone—*that every measure should be* "*proposed in conformity with those principles for* "*which we all contend.* (Cheers.) *I object to* "*the compromise of opinions, not to the delibe-* "*ration of what they should be.* (Cheers.) *I* "*object to the clipping, and paring, and mutilating* "*which must inevitably follow any attempt to con-* "*ciliate enemies who are not to be conciliated* "(cheers), and who thus obtain an advantage, by "pointing out the inconsistencies of which you are "guilty in abandoning your friends and your prin- "ciples, and attribute the discontent felt on this "score to the decay or dearth of liberal principles. "(Cheers.) Against such policy, I, for one, enter "my protest, as pregnant with mischief—as creat- "ing discontent where enthusiasm would other- "wise exist — as exciting vague hopes in the "bosoms of our adversaries which can never be "realised—and *as placing weapons in the hands of* "*those who use them to the destruction of our best* "*interests.* (Cheers). With this candid explanation "—with this free exposition of my principles, "which I have never concealed in any position in "which I have been placed, I am ready to grant "the utmost extent of deliberation to my noble "and learned friend which he has called for this "night, and which, when given under such condi-

" tions, will calm the discontent which has recently " prevailed." (Cheers.)

The effect of this speech at Edinburgh may be supposed, and we have witnessed the delight with which it has been received in London.

Next to the praise of delivering such a speech, is the praise of a Minister who received it as Sir John Hobhouse did :—

" These great meetings afford a great lesson to " public men. (Cheers). *They teach them their* " *duty, and if there were from you, gentlemen,* " *anything wanting to tell his Majesty's Ministers* " *what is expected from them at the hands of the* " *people of the United Empire, we should learn it* " *certainly in what has been addressed to us by a* " *noble friend of mine—I mean the Earl of Dur-* " *ham* (cheers); *and I for one am most willing* " *to accept of what he has been so kind as to* " *address to the King's Government in good part* " (cheers), *and to believe that it is the intention of* " *his Majesty's Ministers to carry into full and* " *efficient effect all those benefits which the people* " *of England and Great Britain have a right to* " *expect* (immense cheering)—else why, gentle- " men, do I belong to the Administration? On " what ground could I have joined it? I am " one of the people. I have belonged to the " people in every sense of the word (cheering), " and *it is only to carry into effect that which I*

"*believe from my conscience to be real popular* "*effects of the Reform Bill, that I have consented* "*to join the present Administration of the* "*country.*"

Mr Ellice also manfully said:—

"Gentlemen now know that we have accom- "plished the great object of obtaining a full and "free representation of the people, and it will be "their duty to enforce upon the representatives "the necessity of such efficient measures as they "have a right to expect as the result of a parlia- "mentary reform. (Cheers.) Whether in my "present situation or in any other in which I may "at any time be placed, they will be welcome to "my best services so long as my health will enable "me to give it them, and I hope I shall not be "found to be one of those who will at any time be "willing to chip and pare measures of reform "(cheers), in the vain hope of conciliating the "natural and consistent enemies of reform. (Re- "newed cheering.)"

This is all excellent; and if the Ministry act up to these principles, and with this spirit, they will have the hearty and steady support of all Reformers. Let us be assured of a Government disposed to advance in the course of reformation and improvement, and there shall be no impatience, no fretful urgency, no hurry incompatible with good speed. As we have before observed, the whip and

spur have been used without mercy to the sluggish jade, but the generous, willing steed shall not be pressed.

LAW AND MUSIC.

The poor can but share
A cracked fiddle in the air,
Which offends all sound morality.

In the police reports of the daily papers, two cases appear, which are strongly illustrative of the capricious character of our law. Two musicians were charged, at the Marlborough street office, with having collected an audience in Jermyn street, and resisted the police who attempted to remove them. Some of the inhabitants, it appeared, desired the performance, and others disliked it; but the law with which the arbitration rested is naturally hostile to harmony, and Mr Chambers decided, like another Justice Midas—

Pan shall remain,
'Pol quit the plain,

"The musical defendants, he observed, had, by "playing in the public streets, according to a re-"cent Act of Parliament, become vagrants; and

" therefore the police-constables had a right to re-
" move them, especially as it had been shown that
" an obstruction had been created. He should
" therefore direct them to put in bail for resisting
" the police-constables."

Street music pleases the poor, and annoys such folks as legislators; hence, to play in the streets is an act of vagrancy. But it causes obstructions—twenty or thirty people collect round the performers. The concerts at Lord Fiddlefaddle's cause obstructions—a hundred insolent livery servants are collected round the door, quarrelling, swearing, and flinging out their ribaldries; but there is no law against concerts at Fiddlefaddle House, and the legislature has not made the issuing of cards for balls, routs, and assemblies—whereby crowds of carriages, cabriolets, and livery servants are collected, to the obstruction of the public thoroughfare and the disturbance of a neighbourhood—an offence.

When the pleasures of the rich create obstructions, police officers attend to keep order as well as they may. When the pleasures of the poor create obstructions, the police officers take the performers into custody. For an instant imagine equal justice, or rather equal injustice; imagine half-a-dozen police officers rushing into Lord Fiddlefaddle's music-room, and taking Paganini, Tamburini, Zuchelli, Pasta, and Grisi into custody!

But the word obstruction has different senses,

according to the context. An obstruction occasioned by an entertainment at a great house is associated with the idea of pleasure to many fine people. An obstruction occasioned by a fiddler in the street is associated with the ideas of dirty shirts, corduroy breeches, worsted stockings, working jackets, and fusty, frouzy smells. It has not yet been conceived by legislators that "the unwashed" can have enjoyments entitled to sympathy and respect, far less to encouragement and cultivation. But let us see how the benevolent mind of a Wordsworth contemplates an obstruction and an act of vagrancy:—

POWER OF MUSIC.

An Orpheus! an Orpheus! Yes, Faith may grow bold,
And take to herself all the wonders of old:
Near the stately Pantheon you'll meet with the same,
In the street that from Oxford hath borrowed its name.

His station is there—and he works on the crowd;
He sways them with harmony merry and loud—
He fills with his power all their hearts to the brim—
Was aught ever heard like his fiddle and him?

What an eager assembly!—what an empire is this!
The weary have life, and the hungry have bliss;
The mourner is cheered, and the anxious have rest;
And the guilt-burthened soul is no longer opprest.

As the moon brightens round her the clouds of the night,
So he, where he stands, is the centre of light;
It gleams on the face, there, of dusty-brown Jack,
And the pale-visaged baker's with basket on back.

That errand-bound 'prentice was passing in haste—
What matter!—he's caught, and his time runs to waste:
The newsman is stopped, though he stops on the fret,
And the half-breathless lamplighter—he's in the net!

The porter sits down on the weight which he bore;
The lass with her barrow wheels hither her store—
If a thief could be here, he might pilfer at ease—
She sees the musician—'tis all that she sees!

He stands, backed by the wall—he abates not his din—
His hat gives him vigour, with boons dropping in
From the old and the young—from the poorest—and there!
The one-pennied boy has a penny to spare.

O, blest are the hearers, and proud be the hand
Of the pleasure it spreads through so thankful a band;
I am glad for him, blind as he is! all the while—
If they speak 'tis to praise, and they praise with a smile.

That tall man, a giant in bulk and in height,
Not an inch of his body is free from delight:
Can he keep himself still, if he would? Oh, not he!
The music stirs in him like wind through a tree.

Mark that cripple, who leans on his crutch, like a tower
That long has leaned forward, leans hour after hour!—
That mother whose spirit in fetters is bound,
While she dandles the babe in her arms to the sound.

Now, coaches and chariots! roar in a stream—
Here are twenty souls happy, as souls in a dream:
They are deaf to your murmurs—they care not for you,
Nor what ye are flying, nor what ye pursue.

"Here are twenty souls happy as souls in a dream," but justice is awake, and irate at such

illegal bliss. All this happiness is contrary to statute. All this happiness comes of an act of vagrancy.

> "They are deaf to your murmurs, they care not for you,
> Nor what ye are flying, nor what ye pursue."

They must care, for the fiddler is pursued. He is already in the hands of the constable, and on his way to Justice Chambers.

> "O blest be the hearers, and proud be the hand
> Of the pleasure it spreads through so thankful a band."

Not so, the law calls the pleasure an obstruction; and as for the hand, instead of letting it be proud, it is sent to the House of Correction, as the hand of a rogue and vagabond, or an incorrigible rogue and vagabond, for blessing hearers in that fashion. To delight the ears of the poor is an act of vagrancy. What, indeed, have the ears of the poor to do with sounds sweet to them?—the use of their ears is to hear commands. It is very well for the Poet to describe "Twenty souls happy as souls in a dream," from the sounds of a fiddle scraping "Moll in the Wad," or "Buttered Peas," or some such thing; but see the consequence,—a well-dressed man has actually been obliged to step outside the curb stone, and has positively soiled his boots. What is the happiness of the dirty people compared to this annoyance? Again: fine persons passing by in carriages exclaim, how absurd and "out of all character" it appears, to see—

" That tall man, a giant in bulk and in height,
Not an inch of his body is free from delight."

The remark is, they had much better be at work than so foolishly delighted by that squeaking fiddle.

It is the custom to preach contentment to the poor, and to tell them to be happy on coarse and slender food, but they are not encouraged to make sweet meals on any of the brown bread or hard crusts of the pleasures. The rich, who have a very good notion that the poor can regale on broken victuals, have no notion that their hearts can leap to a cracked fiddle. They see that coarse food is suitable to them, but do not see that the simple pleasures are also suitable. They supply their wants according to the rule of poverty, and withhold their enjoyments according to the rule of luxury. Dives would say, " Give the crumbs from my table to that hungry man, and take away that fiddler or piper who is making such an execrable noise to that crowd of people." It never strikes him that the fiddle is as sweet to the ears of the one set, as the broken bread to the hungry mouth of the other. He knows that the food which his luxury would loathe is delicious to the famished wretch, but he does not know how the weary and depressed heart dances to the sound harsh and grating to his more cultivated ear. He has a very exact notion of the necessaries suitable to the poor—he would not say to a hungry man, " Don't care about such trash as stale bread and cold potatoes; turtle and venison are the only eat-

ables which a man can wish to have." He knows better than this, but he has no notion of the pleasures suitable to the poor, and would, without an idea of cruelty, withdraw all means of gratification, as worthless, which bore no analogy to the turtle and venison diet—such as the rude music on which we are harping.

Man wants more than the means of supporting an animal existence, and the effect of depriving the poor of the innocent and humanizing pleasures is to make them seek excitement from disgusting sources. Thus, after we had read of the committal of the musicians for amusing a crowd with their strains, we came to an application of some respectable inhabitants of Pentonville to the Hatton garden Magistrates, to prevent the revolting exhibition in wax-work of the murdered victims of Steinberg :—

" Mr Rogers admitted that the exhibition was " disgusting and annoying, but he could not see " how he could interfere as a magistrate. He con- " ceived it, however, to be a very fit subject for the " interference of the parish authorities; and ad- " vised that the housekeepers should make their " formal complaints in that quarter, with a view to " the parties complained against being indicted for " the nuisance."

Here, then, was no summary remedy as against the poor musicians. The law had the fiddle within its grasp, but not the brutalizing exhibition of horrors. The persons annoyed by low shows which

take place in humble neighbourhoods are not of the class of legislators; but annoyances from street music at the West end of the town affect those who will always find ways of removing what is disagreeable to themselves. In the caprices of the law, in its wide and severe grasp of some things which do not deserve the name of offences, compared with its inability to reach others summarily, which are proper objects of repression, a method is observable. Wherever the comfort of the Aristocracy is disturbed, there we find the law putting down, as petty nuisances, the little pleasures of the poor; but there is no immediate interference with immoralities which do not directly trouble the rich or great.

DISSOLUTION OF THE MELBOURNE MINISTRY.

THE Melbourne Ministry is broken up by the King. The pretext—for so we consider it—is the removal of Lord Spencer from the management of the House of Commons to the House of Lords. But it is only to be remembered that Lord Melbourne was commissioned by his Majesty to form the Ministry upon the resignation of Lords Grey and Althorp, and

that the return of the latter to office could not have been contemplated with any confidence at that time To Lord Melbourne the King gave his confidence. Lord Melbourne was the constructor of the Ministry, it was for him to select and hold together, and what, we ask, has made Lord Althorp the key-stone? Lord Melbourne might have left him out in the first arrangement—he had withdrawn under circumstances which made his return a matter of very questionable appearance; the Ministry might then have been composed without him; he was not deemed essential; and is it conceivable that his removal from the Commons to the Lords, still holding office, would fatally weaken the Government, or materially affect its character and influence when his services might have been dispensed with altogether in the first construction? No, no; this, we repeat, is pretext. The Court has bided its time, and the first opportunity has been seized.

It is probable that some scandal, which has lately been brought on the Government, has emboldened the Court to its present move. Certain vagaries unsuited to station, to which we would not now more particularly allude, may have been supposed to have spread much discredit where the discredit was not due, and in this belief advantage may have been taken of the circumstance.

The effect of the escapades, as regards the Ministry, has probably been much overrated. The

fact is that all allowances were made for the position of Lord Melbourne, and the exhibitions were seen with more fear for the mischief they might do to the Ministry than any other sentiment. But the Court seeing the matter with its eyes, instead of the discriminating and indulgent vision of the public, may probably have inferred effects which far exceed the truth.

The King—"the King who lives in the hearts of his subjects"—has sent for the Duke of Wellington. Is the gauntlet to be flung down to the country? If it be, it will be taken up, and Heaven defend the right. But those whom Heaven helps must help themselves, and that care the Reformers must look to, and as if on the exertions of each depended everything dear to each and to all. Had the errors in the Reform Bill been amended, our position would be secure; but, nevertheless, with vigilance, energy, activity, and, above all, union, we have powers enough in our hands to make good our cause, and to trample the genius of misrule under our feet.

It is well that the battle should be fought out—that the strength of the antagonist principles should be measured, and that it should be decided at once and for ever whether the Government is to be for the benefit of the people or the benefit of the governors. That is the short question, and the voice of the country will deliver the judgment.

The Tory power has been held out in terror to

scare us from attempting to advance, or even to strengthen the works which inclose the popular influence; and let us grapple with that Tory power, and see whether it is a phantom, or what is its substance. We have no fears for the issue of the trial. We have never feared open enemies—never feared any but timid and wavering friends, or men ranked with us but without heart in our cause.

We do not reckon, however, on an unmasked exhibition of Toryism. "I dare not" will wait upon "I would." We rather expect some mongrel thing, a cross breed between apostate Whig and accommodating Conservatism—a mixture of the dregs of both parties, void of the honesty of either. They will not have much time before them to make the best of their quarters. The season is with us. Parliament must be faced in February. Will a dissolution be hazarded? Can the House as it is be encountered? We must reckon on a desertion; the trimmers and adventurers will fall off, and the means of tampering will be prodigally employed; but suppose a defection of one hundred, and the Tory Government would be in a minority.

In a general election they would gain in the Counties—perhaps 50, but in the Boroughs they would lose, despite all the defects in the Reform Bill.

The peace of Ireland is now of the last import-

ance—a rebellion would give life to a Tory Government. Let the Catholics suffer every insult and every injury rather than give this vantage-ground to their enemies. All will be done to provoke them, but patience now, and all will be well. Justice will triumph if it be waited for with forbearance and fortitude.

The Melbourne Minority was an untried Ministry—it is unfair to carry to its account the failures of the preceding Government—and the eagerness of the Court to destroy it strengthens the belief that its purposes were good. The prevailing opinion was that it must depend on the merit of its measures, and make up in popular support for what it wanted in vigour, and weight of reputation. The manner of its dismissal shows that there was something in it intolerably hateful to the Court, and so far it is honoured. There was a weak point, mistaken for a place of strength by those endangered by the weakness, which probably made the blow seem safe; and it was struck with the abruptness of one eagerly grasping at opportunity. Who could have conceived that the tenure of office of the Melbourne Ministry hung on the life of the old Lord Spencer? Who could have imagined, when the King directed Lord Melbourne to form a Government, that the Government was to be broken up on the death of an aged infirm Peer having no connection with it! Such a pretence is preposterous. What! because Lord

Althorp's management of the majority of the House can no longer be had, is recourse to be had to a party which cannot guide, because it cannot muster, a majority? Is the object of management advanced by shifting the Government to those who will be hemmed in and downborne by an overpowering opposition? Is the leadership of the House to be conservatively settled by placing the minority in office? The project is to entrust with the guidance those who have no power of guiding, and who will be beaten and buffetted about at pleasure of the opposition outnumbering them. And these are conservative politics, and not the schemes of Bedlam!

We are optimists, however, and look upon these things as all for the best. It were unreasonable indeed to quarrel with the monstrous errors in the losing game played against us. We wish the Tories the benefit of many such brilliant *coups d'état.*

The Melbourne Ministry has been turned away without a moment's notice, but when next the King finds himself under the necessity of governing in accordance with the feelings of the country, the feelings of the country will require purposes and principles in advance of any which can be supposed to have been entertained by the men his Majesty has so abruptly cast from him. The first of the Sibyl's books is burned.

THE INTERREGNUM.

THE FORLORN HOPE OF THE OLIGARCHY.

The Duke of Wellington is again in office—but with what shattered forces, what dwindled means, what broken material! In 1830, with all the power of the corrupt representation at his command—backed by the buccaneers fighting with the halter round their necks—he was swept from power by the current of popular opinion. What new elements of strength has he or his party gained since then? They have not even the advantage of having been out of mischief for four years. Holding in the House of Lords a citadel for misgovernment, they have shown their vicious principles and spirit to be unchanged. If they have been sincere in opposition, they must be anti-reformers in government; if they maintain their declared opinions, they are enemies to improvement and the electoral privileges of the people; if they apostatize, they are false to their friends, and more dangerous to the people than as open enemies. Like *Snake*, in the comedy, their repute requires that they shall never attempt a good

action. We have them, in their speeches and protests, pledged to everything obnoxious and injurious to the country.

It is generally admitted, that a government cannot exist which attempts to withhold the fruits of the Reform Bill; but was the Melbourne Ministry displaced because the fruit is was likely to bear was too little or too great? The bramble is planted in the vineyard instead of the grape—brave hopes for the vintage! but we shall have our hands more full of thorns than fruit.

The Duke of Wellington is to carry out the consequences of the Reform Bill—and what are the consequences of the Reform Bill in his view? Why, nothing else than the ruin of the Monarchy and universal pillage. We have his words that the existing franchise must inevitably lead to universal suffrage and the ballot, and that an assembly so completely democratic as the Commons' House would then be, would declare war against the payment of the public debt and every species of property. Further, in May 1832, he avowed his unmitigated hostility to the Bill, expressing his conviction that "do what their Lordships might with "it, it would never be anything but an evil to the "country. His opinion was, that when they "should have amended the Bill as far as it was "capable of amendment, they would find a crisis "hanging over the country, which this Bill would

" have occasioned, and which it would not leave " the Government the means of averting."

And yet he has undertaken the responsibility of a Government which he has declared, in the circumstances now existing, incapable of averting a fatal crisis; and he is to give the fruits of Reform, which he has described as inevitably destructive to property and the Monarchy. His opinions to this effect he has repeatedly and deliberately declared; and, if sincere, is it conceivable that, with power in his hands, he will not endeavour to demolith the system which he believes must work the ruin of the country? One of the Duke's main objections to the Reform Bill was, that the great body of the electors would be shopkeepers, and let that respectable class look to the safety of their privileges.

The Tories, who follow the Duke's fortunes, are perfectly aware that, in the present state of the representation, it is impossible to make a stand in defence of abuses odious to the bulk of the nation; and they have made no secret of their project, when in power, to relieve themselves from the popular influence by tampering with the Reform Bill. The favourite scheme is to lower the franchise in the rural districts, where the tenantry are under aristocratic control, and to raise it in the towns in direct proportion to the number of the population—so as to have two or three borough qualifications, varying according to the magnitude of the place. The object of this is obviously to

bring the voters under influence, or to make the electoral bodies of small boroughs mere coteries of the occupiers of houses at a high rent, who are seldom the most independent class—or, in the manfacturing towns, to vest the franchise in the masters. By accompanying the proposal for the contraction of the franchise in one direction with the extension of it in another, it is idly hoped to entrap the public; but it is clear, that both the extension and the contraction meditated are adapted to the grasp of the Tory influences.

All this, indeed, is easier plotted than executed. As Fontaine tells us, it is no difficult matter to sell a bear's skin, but the question is, how the bear can be stripped of it. The Tories have amused themselves by showing how they would clothe themselves with his hide, and arm themselves with his claws, but they have not got over the material, preliminary step of mastering, muzzling, and braining him. How is the House of Commons to be induced to vitiate the charter of its present being? How are the representatives of the people to be induced to betray their trust, and vote away the privileges of their constituents? A Tory majority is essential to the Tory design, and how is it to be had? Is it supposed that, by carrying some popular measures, and governing for a season in harmony with public opinion, they can so far ingratiate themselves with the country as to obtain the return of a majority of their party, and then

throw off the mask, remodel the Reform Bill, and return to the abuses they have abandoned for a temporary purpose? This would be a wild and desperate scheme; but for everything subdalous we must be prepared. Trust is not for one moment to be placed in men whose line of action is opposed to the current of their opinions. They may obey a necessity, but necessity is a hated master, from which they will gladly escape the instant opportunity offers or can be contrived. If they give good measures, we cannot quarrel with good measures; but, nevertheless, the people must continue to return representatives whose support of good measures is not a shift of expediency, but the result of a steadfast attachment to the cause of improvement.

> " ——— vows made in pain
> Ease would recant as violent and void."

If the counsels of the Reformer, *malgré lui*, should appear good under the compulsion of the cudgel, we must take care that the cudgel, to whose awe we owe the concession, loses none of its weight and potency. If the liberal strength of the country forces the surrender of any desired objects, the popular representation must be maintained in the fullest force to command the effect. The people can only secure themselves by keeping their proved friends, or men on whom they may see reason to rely, in the command of the House. They must keep the staff in their own hands, and be more wary

than ever in their returns. The House of Commons must be garrisoned with stanch friends of the people.

It is not to be supposed, however, from the foregoing remarks, that we are of the number of those who would, holding themselves on guard against mischief, give the Duke another trial, and accepting any good he may offer, though it be thrown out but as the tub to the whale, reserve their opposition till some bad purpose is manifested. We have always been of the way of thinking of the snake in the fable, who, having been wounded by the hatchet of a woodcutter with whom he lived, moved himself off, saying, in answer to the man's promises of better behaviour, that what he professed might be all very true, but he had made up his mind not to live with a man who kept a hatchet. Having had experience of the Duke's hatchet, we are against any further trial of his house.

It may be argued that, obeying the necessities of his position, yielding to the tide of opinion, he may give us reforms through the favour which the Lords will show to his government, which otherwise could not be passed through the Upper House. But, on the other side, are we not to reckon on a considerable desertion from his party whenever he makes a move towards a popular object? If the Duke enacts the part of the Reformer, though it be *malgré lui*, will not the Tories in the House of Peers become unmanageable?

Among the Tories are many men thoroughly sincere in their opinions, zealous to fanaticism in maintaining them, and who will revolt against any concession as treason to their cause. Such men will ask, why they are to support a friend in doing the work of an enemy? Their very arrogance, as well as their zeal, will make them spurn compromise. These divisions in the camp will leave the Duke at the mercy of the opposition of Reformers, and might enable them to extort some poor advantages; but against them is to be weighed the scandal, the disgrace, the injury wrought to public morals by the spectacle of a man at the head of affairs who has shown a contempt for principle unparalleled in political history—teeming, as it does, with less flagrant examples. We make this remark hypothetically, and it only applies in the event of the Duke's bidding for popularity by the adoption of measures which he has pronounced unjust in principle and ruinous in effect. For our cause, we want nothing from the Duke but his hostility. Don't let us be told that indulgence is due to the correction of error; we read his Grace's opinions no further back than in the debates of the last four years—and, if they be sincere, there is not an object desired by the people which he does not regard as unjust, or pregnant with fatal mischiefs. We must reserve one exception, indeed. He may reduce some of the burdens of the country. The finances are now prosperous. He may dissolve Parliament, and go

to the country—offering, with the one hand, the removal of the Malt Tax to the agricultural interest, and, with the other, the abolition of the Assessed Taxes to the townspeople. If the country sells itself at this price, and gives him a majority, what happens next?—that the Reform Bill is vitiated, and adjusted to the Tory influences; and, that done, there is nothing to prevent the old reign of Tory extravagance from commencing again with a packed House of Commons, and no security against the imposition of new burdens to keep the political Janissaries in pay.

The woodcutter asked the trees for a helve to his hatchet—like the Duke, he had nothing but the iron at his command, which is no instrument without a purchase. He told the trees that his object was merely to prune them, and cut away the brambles and underwood which inconvenienced their trunks. The trees, having only wooden heads, were such dupes as to comply with his request, in consideration of such fine promises; and no sooner had the man the handle to his hatchet, than he laid it to the trunk of one of the noblest oaks, which groaned, as Æsop tells us, in its fall, that it was rightly served for listening to the promises of a woodcutter, a professed enemy of trees, and giving a handle to an enemy.

Now, if the people of England have such wooden heads as to listen to the promises of our man of the hatchet, and to give him a handle, they will soon

see him cutting away at the tree of liberty which they have so lately gloried in planting as the ornament and security of the country.

Or, perhaps, for a yet apter illustration, we may repeat a story which is no fable.

Barrington, the famous pickpocket, gave an order to a cutler for an instrument of a very peculiar construction. The tradesman having finished it at the appointed time, Barrington called, and asked the price; the cutler demanded some guineas, which Barrington paid without any hesitation; charmed with the liberality of his customer, the cutler pocketed the money, and begged, if it might not be thought impertinent, to ask the uses of so extraordinary an instrument; Barrington, after amusing him with some circumlocutions, during which time neither his hand nor the instrument was idle, explained—"to tell you honestly, it is for picking pockets," and, so saying, he left the shop. The cutler was somewhat startled at finding the purposes to which his art had ministered, but comforted himself by thinking of the five guineas, and put his hand in his pocket for that feeling of solid satisfaction which is produced by feeling money, but, to his consternation he discovered that it was gone, together with much more good company which should have been found in the same place.

This is the sort of bargain which the country has to consider. At the price of even four or five millions will it give the Duke an instrument by which

he may repossess himself of the purchase-money, and as much more to boot, as is to be extracted from the pockets of the public? In a word, will it for any gain sell the key of its strong box? For a remission of taxation will it part with or imperil the only security for permanent economy, and just government? Once let the Reform Bill be at the mercy of the Duke, backed by a Tory majority, and the representative system will be debauched and we shall be thrown back to the position whence by immense and costly exertion we extricated ourselves in those years of struggle, '31 and '32.

In the foregoing remarks, showing how "penny wise and pound foolish" it would be—not to mention more important and exalted considerations—to sell a majority to the Captain for a remission of taxes, it is far from our purpose to impute extravagance to the Duke; *he* would use the power obtained only to re-seat the oligarchy upon the shoulders of the nation, and to hold out against efficient reforms in church, municipalities, &c.; but the Janissaries who followed the Vizier would insist on their largesses, and, if denied, would soon put the bow-string round his neck, and set up another chief who would gratify them, through a Tory majority in the House of Commons, with the pillage of the public purse. Again, therefore, we say, as the only security against every evil, Stand by the Reform Bill, and return none but those who may not only be believed devoted to its principle, but pledged also to complete

the measure where it has proved defective—namely, to remove the restrictions; and, further, to vote for Triennial Parliaments.

Let us now glance at the condition of the government.

"The State?—I am the State," said a French King. "The Government?—I am the Government," says the Duke of Wellington, or Mayor of the Palace. He is his Majesty's servant-of-all-work, and answers to all demands like the man of Molière's miser. Do you ask for your coachman?—I am here; if you call for your footman—it is I; do you summon your cook?—I wait your commands; if you settle with your steward—here he stands. If business is to be transacted with the Foreign Secretary—there is the Duke. If the Home Secretary is wanted,—wait till he steps from over the way—the threshold makes the Minister—he is just at this instant Foreign Secretary, but he will be Home Secretary in a second, and see, he is crossing the second kennel. Is he required at the Treasury?—some one will deprive the Home Office of its Minister, and a First Lord will walk in. Has the Colonial Department occasion for a head?—it will be borrowed in a minute from the Treasury. The bodies of Castor and Pollux had one soul between them, and were animated by turns—a greater miracle, our five departments of State have one head between them, an administration by turns. The Irish hold it

impossible for a man to be in two places at once "like a bird." The Duke has proved this no joke —he is in five places at once. At last, then, we have an united Government. The Cabinet Council sits in the Duke's head, and the Ministers are all of one mind.

But this is only a make-shift—the establishment having been broken up—the servants discharged without warning, and peremptorily called on to deliver up the inventory, lest they should rob the house, an old char-woman is called in, to cook, and sweep, and dust, and do the work of the house till a fresh set can be found.

The country must wait for a settled Government till a gentleman has returned from his travels. There have been times in the history of England, when, on the contrary, the settlement of the Government has depended on sending a man on his travels. But so it is, that sometimes we have a man too many, and sometimes we have one too few. Sometimes we are short of one, and sometimes we shorten one. It is an odd business this Government. Now twenty-four millions are at a stand for a Peel. Sir Robert Peel's travelling carriage stops the way.

DILEMMA OF THE DUKE.

" When the Devil was sick,
The Devil a Saint would be;
But when the Devil got well,
The devil a Saint was he!"

THE best that the Duke of Wellington's friends can say of him is, that he has the wisdom to obey a necessity; now, then, is the time for him to prove the justice of this unique recommendation—let him obey the necessity which the voice of the country imposes, and abandon his attempt to govern. In knowing what he cannot do, the Duke will know a very vast volume, and in the first page of it is written, " Thou can'st not dupe the people of England." The short of the matter is, that the country will not have him. It says, plainly enough, " We quarrelled with you as an honest Tory, and we will not shake hands with you an apostate." This may appear excessively unreasonable to the Duke—we may all appear stark mad, in his eyes, to refuse so excellent an offer; but the resolution, he must perceive, creates one of those necessities, in obeying which his wisdom is said to shine. Under compulsion, it is surely as easy for him to abandon his enterprise as

to apostatize,—as easy to turn out as to turn coat, when it is clear that he will turn coat to no purpose, and be turned out after all. But what is the Duke to say to the King—the case is certainly an awkward one, for what has become of the long-boasted reaction to Toryism? The charlatan who engaged to raise the dead, being, in the midst of one of his flourishes, invited to prove his skill on a subject passing to the tomb, and having, accordingly, performed his conjurations till the spectators were weary, flew into a violent passion, saying, "Never before did I meet with so obstinate a corpse." The Duke, who was to have raised the spirit of Toryism, must tell the King that he never met with so obstinate a dead body. And, as for cajoling the Reformers, he must inform his Majesty that so unreasonably fastidious are his loving subjects, that they insist on being served by men with clean hands. They close with the argument, that Government, no matter how composed, must grant Reform, by saying, then let us have the Government of the friends and promoters of the principle. If none but a Reform Ministry can exist, why not a sincere instead of a counterfeit Reform Ministry? Why trust the advancing steps of Reform to the guidance of the hand that would have strangled it in the cradle? If the Tories are sincerely convinced of their error, what is the obstacle to a Government of Reformers who have the confidence of the country? Supposing

the mutineers to be penitent, is it wise to give them the watch, and turn down the true hands?

If the Duke of Wellington designs the adoption of those principles which he has combated as inevitably ruinous to the country, we ask, to what miracle his conversion is referable? Only to the miracle of the loaves and fishes can it be attributed. Does he pretend to bow to the spirit of the country —that spirit now spurns him, and forbids him to put his hand to the work he would have destroyed. He described Reform as the Upas of the land, and now he asks, "Let me help you to the fruit?"— and promises liberal measures — of what? — of poison, by his own showing. What is to be thought of his wisdom, if he was sincere in his first and often-repeated judgment? — If he was not, what is to be thought of his truth and trust-worthiness? No man was ever cramped in so close a dilemma. Again we ask, what prodigy has converted him?—what thunder from a serene sky?— what warning spirit?—it needs no ghost to tell it was a vision of office.

We are reminded that the Duke has turned before, and to some good purpose; but it is also to be remembered that he turned back again, and threw the whole country into commotion. It is true that he saw necessity of settling the Catholic question, but did he see the necessity for yielding Parliamentary Reform? If the perception of the first expediency is to be carried to the credit of his

sagacity, how much must be detracted from it for his blindness in the second instance, so incomparably more important? Are we to trust ourselves to the guidance of a man who deliberately walked over the edge of a precipice because, forsooth, he once avoided knocking his head against a wall? He went right once, but how often has he gone wrong? and he now offers to forward us on the road which, according to the finger-post he has set up, leads, as straight as an arrow, to destruction. Good man! obliging creature! His advertisement is—Cheap and expeditious travelling to ruin. He says to the people—

"My dear fellow-countrymen, I have, over and "over again, told you that you are hurrying on to "destruction, but, if you insist on going to the "devil, for the love of heaven let me drive you, for "I may as well have the half-crown as another, "and I pledge myself to carry you on towards the "bottomless pit at as good a pace as any other "driver can promise you, taking care not to delay "you by an upset in a journey to such a hopeful "end."

This is being what is commonly called "too good." The King, too, has been assured, by the same conductor, that he must inevitably crack his crown on the same road. Such an Undertaker of reforms should appropriately drive a hearse as the national omnibus. But who will travel by him?—those who like the road (knowing the falseness of

his character of it) don't like his driving, nor believe that he will go to what he absurdly believes to be perdition; and those, on the other hand, who like his driving, think with him, that the road leads to ruin, and therefore will refuse to take the journey. The Tories abhor the direction, and the Reformers revolt against the whip.

Certainly, except in the funereal sense of the word, we cannot conceive how the Duke can become an undertaker of reforms. Where, but to their tomb, can he be disposed to forward them? Since what time has he had a call to reform? There were no signs of grace at the close of the session, and his is not an age for new lights.

Some years ago an old woman, Joanna Southcote, persuaded some good folks that she was pregnant with the regeneration of the world. While her followers were living in hopes of a Shiloah, however, she died of the dropsy. The Duke of Wellington is the Joanna Southcote of the present day —big with disorder, the old crone gives out that it is Reform. To borrow a Homeric figure, we will believe him when olive-branches sprout from his marshal's baton—but not till then.

The Duke's friends complain that he is refused a fair trial—why, how many trials would he have, or to how many cruel trials would he put the country? —he has been tried once, and cast. But this plea is not original. When Barrington was tried, he turned his defence on the badness of his character,

he told the Judge and Jury that it was impossible they could give him a fair trial, for all of them must, from the notoriety of his character, be preconvinced of his guilt, and he therefore called upon them to acquit him, as their prejudices could not allow of their well and truly trying him, according to their oaths, as to the facts charged in the indictment. This equally ingenious and ingenuous defence did not move the Jury to a verdict of "Not guilty."

WAITING FOR PEEL.

THE Tories are waiting for Sir Robert Peel—eagerly longing to sit down to the substance of the people, but waiting dinner for Sir Robert Peel. How keen are their appetites, how tedious is the period of delay, how fidgetty their anxiety, how dire their fears lest everything should be spoiled—and in every ear rings the adage, as a knell, "there is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip!" The Cabinet dinner of the provision-all Government waits for Sir Robert Peel.

"Why is his chariot so long in coming?—why tarry the wheels of his chariot?" is asked with the impatience of those who expect it to be laden with their own fortunes—freighted with the spoil of a

people. But, while they wait for Sisera, the country is very diligently driving a nail into his head, and fixing him to the ground.

The *Quarterly Review* tells us that the head of the table is reserved for Sir Robert, and not a seat is to be taken or a dish to be served till his arrival. Sir Robert is *their* Destiny, but Sir Robert is not the Destiny of the nation; he may spin the life of his party, but the country will take the ground-tackle of its own security into its own hands. Those Tories, who have no other object than office, place all their hopes in the slippery parts of Sir Robert, and as *Croaker*, in the *Good-natured Man*, would say, Peel rhymes with eel. Moreover, they have the modesty to feel that he is their only *presentable* man. *Blifil*, though pretty well understood, seems a more decent man than *Black George*, with his gunpowder face. The Duke, therefore, is only to keep the front places till the great arrival, or to perform the part of warming-pan; and so fiercely is he warming the country, that it is pretty certain Sir Robert will find the place too hot to hold him by the time of his advent, notwithstanding all the current jokes of the aptitude of a peel for an oven. The Tories, however, cannot draw their bread without him. The loaves and fishes cannot be touched but through his instrumentality.

The *Quarterly Review* tells us that—

"The Duke of Wellington, with a magnanimity

" unparalleled in political history, has assumed all " the difficulties and responsibilities, while he de- " clines the personal honours and advantages natu- " rally belonging to the circumstances in which he " was placed. He has advised his Majesty to make " Sir Robert Peel *First Minister*, and has gene- " rously undertaken to carry on the routine of " Government until the Right Hon. Baronet's re- " turn from Italy. Until that event, no perma- " nent appointments will take place; no more will " be done than is necessary to secure '*ne quid de-* " *trimenti respublica capiat.*' The Duke of Wel- " lington will exercise his temporary authority " with equal firmness and moderation; he will " maintain the honour and interests of the country " abroad, and its tranquillity at home, and, in a " truly constitutional spirit, will have preserved to " the new Prime Minister a full, free, and unfet- " tered power to select the persons and policy by " which he may find it expedient to conduct the " affairs of the empire."

All this is plain enough. As Lord Stanley would say, it is a thimble-rig. It is a juggle between two damaged characters—an attempt to make a white of two blacks. When the Duke finds that the people will not accept him, he puts Peel before him, and says, This is the chief. This is the change of hats and cloaks between *Giovanni* and *Leporello*. If your quarrel is with the one, you are baulked by the discovery of the other in

his habiliments. If your objection is to the Duke, Oh, Peel is to be Premier. If Peel be unripped and his chaff exposed, why then the Duke is to pull the wires. These devices are far too shallow; the country will neither have the Duke nor his Deputy-Premier.

Yet we admire the modesty of the Duke in giving out that he withdraws himself, and setting the other at the head of the table. It shows that a fine passage in the history of his friend Brummell has not been lost on him. A wealthy citizen, who yearned for aristocratic society, asked the Prince of the Dandies how he could get men of a certain class to his house? The answer was, nothing can be easier. "Engage Ude, and give some dinners; "I (Brummell) will invite the company, whose "names in the *Morning Post* will do you honour." The invitations were accepted—the ambitious citizen happy. The arrangements for the important dinner all complete, some doubts arose in the mind of the host as to a point of etiquette in placing his guests, upon which he asked Brummell's advice, who, with every expression of surprise, answered, "Why, what in the name of wonder are you thinking of, my good fellow? *You* "place your guests? What *are* you dreaming "of?"—The citizen answered, that of course in taking the head of his table he must give the place of honour to some one.—"*You* take the head of

the table, *you* give the *pas*," repeated the Dandy, with mingled horror and amazement. "Why, my "dear fellow, you are raving. All that *you* are to "take is the credit of having such company at "*your* house—all that *you* are to give is the din- "ner. I will do all the rest. As for you, you "have nothing to do but to keep yourself hand- "somely out of sight. If you were to appear it "would spoil all."

The Duke has profited by "the great moral les- son" inculcated in this anecdote. He gives the dinner—serves up the substance of the people—but it would spoil all if he were to take the head of the table. The present Prince of Coxcombs is to preside, and the Duke, handsomely out of sight, is to be satisfied with the credit of the company which, by such contrivance, can be mustered. But it won't do. The country will upset the tables.

Poor Sir Robert! was ever gentleman called home from a pleasant tour on such an errand!—like the wise man in Swift's "Polite Conversations," "who ran nine miles with all speed to milk a bull." By the time he gets within view of our coasts his prospect will be black as pitch—he will not like it, good man—the aspect of things will be quite enough for a man of his prudence. It is hard to be so crossed in ambition—a disappoint- ment, as they say, "of the tenderest sort." It is, indeed, a case for legal redress. Sir Robert should

bring an action for breach of promise of government against the Duke. Pray Heaven it ends in no seduction relying on the promises of a hoary libertine!

The wording of the concluding passage in the *Quarterly Review* mightily amuses us; it is curiously characteristic. Sir Robert is to "*select* the policy by which he may find it expedient to conduct the affairs of the empire" (that is, if the people will let him). There is no policy (save, perhaps, a policy of assurance) necessarily connected with his own principles, but the whole collection of policies—High Tory, Red Tape Tory, Whig, Ultra-Whig, Radical Whig, Radical, Ultra-Radical, Anti-Reform, Sham Reform, Little-as-can-be-Reform, Progression and Retrogression, are to be laid on the table, and he is to pick and choose, saying, this is too dark, and this is too light, and this is too much out of fashion, and this is vulgar, until he pitches on one of a colour which he thinks will not show dirt—the Brighton dust shade.

HOW TO RUIN THE TORIES.

Not to despise the enemy, is a maxim of prudence which it is, at this moment, exceedingly difficult to observe. The whole affair wears the appearance of a *mauvaise plaistanterie*, a practical joke, a great state farce by a Royal author. The Duke is to strangle Reform, and for that purpose he has full powers to make a rope of sand. A first minister is wanted, and the great Captain says, like the man in the duel, "I'll be second or third." The discreet Mrs Glasse, in her directions for dressing a dolphin, begins, first catch a dolphin. First catch a Premier, says the Court receipt for cooking a Tory Ministry. The discreet housewife, according to Solomon, fetches her food from afar; and Italy is hunted for a Tory Chief by the goblin page of her Majesty, Mr Hudson. Meanwhile, how does the country relish the pleasures of the chace? The wolf deputes the management of the poultry-yard to the fox, and Reynard is not to be had without a run.

If the King had intended to make the Tories feel their weakness, and to break down the party for ever, he could not have taken a more effective course than he has pursued. If we assume it to

have been a stratagem, nothing could be conceived more complete. Supposing him to be "using second means to work his ends," he is, indeed, William the Reformer. If his object has been to show that reform is an essential condition of government, and that all that the Tories have so violently opposed while out of office, they must necessarily propose upon coming into office, and so to damage them utterly and for ever as an opposition, leaving the people to spurn and rout their apostate ministry, as an outrage against public morals;—if this, we say, has been the object, the most effective means have been adopted for its accomplishment. Fatally for the Tories has the King reasoned, if he has reasoned thus:—

"If these men, who have shown the resolution "to shut the doors of the Upper House against "any measures of just and necessary improvement "proposed by the Grey or Melbourne Ministry, "be admitted to office, they must see the necessity "of professing the principles they have denounced; "but the moral sentiment of my people will revolt "against such an exhibition of apostacy, arguing "that these men must either have been fools before "in their opposition, or they must be knaves now "in their interested conversion, and, as the one or "the other, unfit to be trusted with Government, "and they will be hurled from power, after having "cut away the ground upon which they have "hitherto made their stand in opposition, for how

" can they afterwards resist reforms which they have " declared their readiness to carry into effect. Or, " should they do so, I can, with unquestionable " justice, exercise my prerogative of creation, and " overrule an assembly which has displayed its " factious motives so nakedly and shamefully."

We repeat that, supposing the King to desire the destruction of the Tory party, in and out of office—supposing it is his object to prove that the country will not suffer their government, and to maim them in their very attempt, so as to be equally incapable of returning to a stand in opposition—supposing that he has given them the opportunity of climbing to power, only that they may have a deadly fall from the highest pitch of disgrace—supposing all this, the stratagem seems planned with consummate art, and every prospect of complete success. But the people must and will, in this case, second the work, assist in the plot of their gracious Sovereign, and drive the Tories from the Government which they are bidding for with apostacy.

In all languages there are a hundred stories of the cure of foolish fancies, by making men believe themselves rulers for a few hours, and it is most charitable to suppose that this is the little hoax which his Majesty is playing off on the Tory party. Certain we are that the Duke cannot do better than render up his bunch of seals to his Royal master, with the address of Sancho Panza on ab-

dicating the government of Barataria:—"In a "word, I have, during my administration, consi- "dered the cares and obligations that attend the "exercise of power, and found them, by my reck- "oning, too weighty for my shoulders; they are "neither fit burdens for my back, nor arrows for "my quiver; *and therefore, that the government "might not discard me, I have thought proper to "discard the government.*"

The *Times* asks—

"Why should the Duke of Wellington and "other Conservatives be abused for changing their "system of measures with the changed condition "of the country? Ought they to be praised for "stubbornly, stupidly, and wickedly striving to "govern the kingdom on anti-Reform principles, "after the whole anti-Reform machinery has been "swept away by law? Ought the Duke and his "friends, on the other hand, to be excommunicated, "because now, that a measure which he opposed "has become law, he proposes to obey the law, to "administer the law, and to adapt the character of "his policy to that of the changed institutions of "the country, which he cannot *un*change if he "were ever so bent upon it, unless the people of "England, having power in their hands, choose to "restore it to the oligarchy from whom they have "wrested it?"

Upon this we ask, in turn, why the Duke of Wellington and other Conservatives did not change

their notions of measures with the changed condition of the country before the 15th of last month. The Reform Bill was the law of the land before the death of Lord Spencer and the dismissal of the Melbourne Ministry, and why did the Duke and the Conservatives obstinately oppose the Ministerial policy adapted to the changed institutions of the country? Had we seen signs of conversion when the Tories were in opposition, we might have believed it sincere; but the sudden conversion which accompanies the assumption of power wears very much the appearance of apostacy.

Up to the dissolution of the Melbourne Minstry there was no hypocrisy in the Tory party. They very frankly opposed themselves to all measures of a popular character. In opposition they were thoroughly true to their vicious principles of government—they never professed a popular object or a popular sympathy. Bitter as was their hostility to the Grey Ministry, they supported it in every denial of justice, in every harsh and offensive enactment. Whenever redress was to be denied or coercion applied, the Tories flung away their party resentments, and cordially co-operated with the Government; but the instant that a move was made towards any object desired by the people, they resumed hostilities, and made a stand in defence of abuse. So faithful were they to their anti-Reform principles, that we believe they would have supported the Whigs if their whole policy had harmonized

with the Irish Coercion Bill, the conduct as to the Pension List, and the Septennial Act. Whenever the Ministerial course was in the old track of anti-Reform policy and Oligarchical government, the Tories were approvers and followers. They saw no occasion for a changed system with a changed representation. They made their stand in the foul old ways, and gave convincing evidence of their sincerity, by allying themselves with their rivals when they descended to the same rotten ground.

When, then, did the new light flash upon them? —when did they make the discovery that all which they had seconded in the policy of the Grey Government should be renounced, and that the principles they had so obstinately and virulently opposed were the only principles upon which a Government could be conducted? Did their conduct on the Irish Tithes Bill betoken any perception of these truths, even in their dawning? We saw what they were at the close of the session; and what has happened to change them in the last four months of repose? Upon the danger of trusting sham converts, or men bent from their bias by a necessity from which they will fly whenever the restraint seems relaxed, we have said enough in our preceding papers. We see no reason for admitting the adder because we have the power of crushing it if it requites the confidence with its sting.

The dilemma is shortly this:—If the Tories are sham converts to Reform, they are not to be trusted;

if, by any miracle, they are sincere converts to Reform, there is no obstacle in the way of a Ministry composed of men who, having sowed the seed, are worthiest to reap the harvest. If the majority in the House of Lords are craving Reform in the Church and Corporations, the Repeal of the Septennial Act, the Revision of the Pension List, the Admission of Dissenters to the Universities, the Abolition of Church Rates, and all other grievances, there can be no difficulty in the way of any Ministry which his Majesty may be pleased to form from the supporters of the Reform Bill, and if it be as easy to carry on the Government with the men in whose good intentions the people have confidence, as with those in whose sudden professions they have no faith, perhaps our Gracious Monarch will comply with the wish of the country, and call to his councils men who recognized the necessity for governing in accordance with the popular sentiment before the middle of last month.

The King is a sailor. What would he think of the lubbers who vilified their helmsman for not holding a course against wind and tide? With the flood running like a sluice, and the wind blowing their teeth down their throats, they roar out that the tide is ebbing, and that, no matter what the dog-vane says, the course should be laid right in the wind's eye. Well, the helm is given to them, and the cry instantly is, "Who'd have thought it? "Sure enough there is a lee-tide hustling us to

" Port Reform, and to work to windward is im-
" possible; nay, it is very true that the sails must
" be trimmed to the wind, and we were mistaken
" in our notion that it was possible to hold a course
" right on in the wind's eye, with the sails spilling
" and splitting to ribbons in the gale; so up with
" the helm and bear away with a flowing sheet."

Would the Royal Captain trust the management of the ship to lubbers who had given such proofs of their incompetence? Would he hold that their perception of so preposterous a folly as they had long conceived, showed their qualifications for bringing the vessel safely into port. Men who have only within the last month learnt that it is necessary to govern in accordance with popular opinion, and to carry out the consequences of the Reform Bill, have discovered a deficiency of sagacity which proves their disqualification for the conduct of Government in the new era, whatever their dispositions may be. Men, who read the broad signs of the times so duncishly, are obviously not to be trusted with the interpretation of public opinion, when, upon the shrewdness and accuracy of the interpretation, so much of the national peace and security depends.

SIR R. PEEL'S MINISTRY.

SIR R. PEEL'S ACCESSION TO THE MINISTRY, AND LORD STANLEY'S REFUSAL TO JOIN IT.

Sir Robert has answered to the Duke's whistle. He has hurried home and sprung into office with the speed of mischief. His politics turned with his coach wheel. Perish principles—welcome place! What are now his opinions? The opinions which he finds in the coat pocket of his official uniform.

Miraculous as was the Duke's conversion to Reform, that of Sir Robert must have been more sudden. He receives a note of invitation—it was but to ask and have—to govern or not to govern was the short question—was he to stay at Rome with his principles, or to order post horses and dash home through thick and thin for the prize?—he was a Reformer in the crack of a whip. His professions were of no more concern to him than the cattle which speeded him on his journey—what mattered it whether he was drawn by a black, a white, or a piebald, so that he advanced to his goal? What cares he for the colour of his opinions so that they forward his fortunes? The journey to government was no more to be accomplished with

his own principles than with his own horses, so he took hack-posters. And now here he is seated in the Treasury, First Lord and Chancellor of the Exchequer; what else he is to be, whether anti-reformer or sham-reformer, is doubtless to him immaterial—he will take the part which place makes convenient.

Again we may hear him "welcome infamy and public shame"—again we may hear him deliver that fine passage of Dryden—

> 'Tis said with ease, but oh! how hardly tried
> By haughty souls, to human honour tied;
> Oh sharp convulsive pangs of agonising pride!

Again we may hear him refer a recantation to the force of his official oath. It will be remembered that, on the introduction of the Catholic Relief Bill, Sir Robert Peel observed that he was compelled to avow his sincere opinion on the question by the solemn oath he had taken, in his capacity of Minister of the Crown, "to declare his mind "openly and faithfully, according to his heart and "conscience, in all matters debated in his Majesty's "Council."

Thus the cabinet is this statesman's confessional. He is not sworn to truth in opposition; and to get him to declare his mind openly and faithfully according to his heart and conscience, he must be affected with the oath of office. Put him in place and his conscience is unlocked, and all the hidden

truths are divulged. To the force of his official oath he attributed his admission of the necessity for Catholic Emancipation, and to the force of this oath he will perhaps attribute his admission of the necessity for those reforms in Church and State which he has resisted as iniquitous and destructive in opposition, where he was not bound by oath "to declare his mind openly and faithfully accord-"ing to his heart and conscience in all matters "debated."

Sir Robert has intimated the method for extracting truth from him. He has, in effect, said, "You may have my sincere opinion if you administer the oath of office to me." Veracity on cheap terms.

To give Sir Robert his due, there has been no prudery in his conduct—Potiphar's wife was not more forward than our Joseph. There can have been no coy scruples. The Duke had but to hold up office, and he secured his Deputy-Premier. But no sooner was Sir Robert caught, than another chace commenced after Lord Stanley—one Minister having been had from Italy, another was to be caught at Knowsley; and, had he been won, there would have been some other errand, for this thing is a sort of Penelope's web, which the maker is in no haste to finish. When Lord Stanley read the invitation, we may imagine him saying, with his namesake in *Richard the Third*—

I do not like these several councils, I.

Then the tempter, a Graham enacting *Hastings*, may go on:—

My Lord, I hold my life as dear as you do yours;
And never in my life, I do protest,
Was it more precious to me than 'tis now.
Think you, but that I know our state secure,
I would be so triumphant as I am?

Stanley. The Lords at Pomfret [Brighton will do as well], when they rode from London,
Were jocund, and supposed their states were sure;
And they, indeed, had no cause to mistrust;
But yet, you see, how soon the day o'ercast.
This sudden stab of rancour I misdoubt.

The *Standard*, after stating its belief that Lord Stanley will, for the present at least, decline office, very coolly adds, that "the accession of Sir James "Graham, acting under Lord Stanley's advice, is "confidently hoped for." Here is certainly another reading of the *Lord Stanley* of *Richard*:—

I, as I may (that which I would I cannot),
With best advantage will deceive the time,
And aid thee in this doubtful shock of arms;
But on thy side I may not be too forward.

The *Standard* supposes that all public men are as unscrupulous and deceitful as the leaders of its party. Lord Stanley has faults, and very considerable faults, as a statesman, but his faults have no kindred to craft and duplicity; he is prejudiced, vehement, wanting in judgment, passionate and opinionated as a very clever boy, whose head has been a little turned by the consciousness of his

prowess and the admiration it has called forth—but there has been nothing in his conduct that indicates double-dealing and skulking contrivance; and certain are we, that he is not a man to stand behind a screen, or to prompt another to a course to which he would shrink from committing himself. There is none of the stuff of which tricksters are made in the composition of Lord Stanley, and, whatever may be his errors, they will be allied to rashness and self-confidence, and not to the cowardly cunning which would use another in an unsafe experiment. As a statesman, he is far more likely to err by depending too much upon himself than by resorting to tools—he is infinitely more likely to expose himself imprudently in a conflict than to take his ground at the back of another. Sir Robert Peel might be capable of the part the *Standard* has attributed to Lord Stanley, but Sir Robert Peel and Lord Stanley have their errors shaped out of very different clay. Our readers know that Mr Stanley has been no favourite of ours, but we are as ready to bear testimony to his honour, according to the best of our belief, as we have been to observe on the arrogance of his demeanour, and to question the soundness of some of his political principles.

The application to Lord Stanley indicates the intention to make a show of reform colours, but it also betrays the very limited bounds of any church reform which can be contemplated by these men.

Lord Stanley seceded from the Grey Ministry because he thought it was going too far in the abatement of the sinecure Irish Establishment; the country, however, was generally of opinion that the language of the late Ministers as to the appropriation of surplus funds denoted deficiency rather than excess in the work of reformation, and, in soliciting Lord Stanley's adhesion, the Tory Chiefs have plainly discovered that they are at most not prepared to go beyond Lord Stanley's notions of reform, which were so far short of those of his colleagues in the Grey Ministry as to cause his secession. Thus, upon this important point the Tory Ministry would do less than the preceding Whig Ministry, and the preceding Ministry did not seem prepared to do enough to satisfy the country.

The *Standard*, however, insists that the Ministry is to be a Reform Ministry, or, in other words, that it is to go through with the work which its members and organs have, up to the middle of last month, asserted to be a work of wickedness and destruction. Our contemporary asks:—

"If the whole Conservative body are not merely "contented, but rejoiced to see their leaders un- "dertaking the functions of a Reform Adminis- "tration, *what right have Reformers to complain?* "What complaint can they seriously urge, with- "out acknowledging, on one side, that it was "office alone they sought in their reforming exer- "tions, or, on the other, that Reform was a mere

" pretext, and revolution the real object of their " pursuit?"

If the Conservatives are rejoiced to see their leaders undertake the functions of a Reform Administration, what right have the Reformers to complain? Exactly the right, we answer, which men have to complain of untrustworthy and unwilling servants. The people, as is contended by the *Times*, may hold the power of preventing mischief in their own hands, but they cannot compel the preparation and carriage of good measures. They may tie the hands of ministers, but they cannot set them actively and zealously to work. By force of the representative power, we may hold the Government in a straight waistcoat, but this, though a security against mischief, is no position for any beneficial ministration. *Filch*, in handcuffs, would not be dangerous, but would be fit for service?—he could not steal, but what would he do? We might as well expect the qualities of a generous steed in a mule, as the work of improvement from the veteran enemies of Reform. Whence are they to derive the spirit which is the life of every public undertaking?—at every opportunity or pretext they would flag and fly off, and pig-driving would be a light and agreeable employment, compared with the task of the people to keep their ministers in the right path.

A Tory Government, employed in the correction of abuses, would be like Sancho Panza in

the act of self-flagellation—the hand raised to chastise would fall with the gentle pat of a caress.

Where is it seen that compulsory labour is equal in value to the voluntary? The convicts, with fetters on their legs, are employed in works of improvement, but their work does not pay for their watching, and they pick the overseer's pocket the moment his eyes are off their hands. A man who works against the grain in chains is bad enough, but how much worse must be one who works against the grain in power? So far we have considered the argument that the people, through their representatives, have the control over the Government, and the power of preventing mischief:—we say this is not enough, the country wants the active services of men whose convictions are not opposed to their tasks. To hold the people in a constant state of suspicion and apprehension of the Government would in itself be a grievance, and the moment the suspicion is relaxed the unwilling servants become dangerous.

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S MANIFESTO.

In an address to the electors of Tamworth, Sir Robert Peel has presented what he is pleased to describe as "a frank exposition of the general principles and views" of the Government. He evidently feels that it is necessary to give some reason for the openness he affects, and, therefore, he intimates that nothing is to be gained by false professions. This passage is curiously characteristic: having declared his modest persuasion that his opinions will enable him to establish a claim on the public confidence, he proceeds—

"I have the firmest conviction that that confi-
"dence cannot be secured by any other course
"than that of frank and explicit declarations of
"principle—that *vague and unmeaning professions*
"of popular opinions may quiet distrust for a time,
"may influence this or that election, but that *such*
"*professions must ultimately and signally fail if,*
"*being made, they are not adhered to, or if they*
"*are inconsistent with the honour and character*
"*of those who make them.*"

Is this the only ground of belief upon which the Prime Minister of England can take his stand—that hollow professions cannot succeed, and that

therefore, his declarations are "frank and explicit." The reasoning amounts to this:—"I will deal "honestly with you, having the firmest conviction "that nothing is to be got by any other course." So Fielding records of his great man, Jonathan Wild, that he resolved to act honestly on one occasion, having, on the maturest deliberation, come to the conclusion that no advantage could be obtained by an opposite line of conduct. Sir Robert's is certainly not the high tone of morality which inspires confidence. In ordinary life, one would hardly be disposed to trust a man who claimed credit for his professions on such grounds. When a man tells us that he is honest according to his notions of the best policy, we are apt to apprehend that his notions of the best policy may vary, and that with them his morality of convenience may change.

The depressed tone, almost to abjectness, of Sir Robert Peel's manifesto, is especially remarkable—it has far more the manner of a culprit's defence than of a Prime Minister's claims to a nation's confidence; indeed, though in the commencement of his address he talks of establishing a claim on public confidence, yet, after making the best parade of his pretensions, he is rendered so sensible of the weakness of his case, so overpowering is the truth, that he concludes with a whine, begging the people to give "the Minister of the King's choice not an implicit confidence, but a fair trial."

It is to be observed, that Sir Robert's evidences of his disposition to reform are the few instances in which he acquiesced in the measures of the late Ministry. All that he offers is their offal. He proved, forsooth, that he was not unfriendly to the principle of Corporation Inquiry, by consenting to be a member of the Committee of the House of Commons on which it originally devolved. This is saying much. As to the principle of reform in Corporations, not one word does Sir Robert say, though he pretends to eschew vague and unmeaning professions, and promises "frank and explicit "declarations of principle." Does he propose to vest elections in the people—make corporations representative of local interests and responsible—the town Parliaments, in a word? No, not a syllable of the kind. The frank and explicit declaration of this enemy to vague and unmeaning professions is, that he will give "a full and unprejudiced consideration" to the report in preparation. In effect the common evasive answer, "I will think about it" —"I will consider of it." Such is the extent of his pledge on this most important subject. The Duke of Wellington, it will be remembered, protested against founding the electoral system of corporations on the 10*l.* franchise.

The next boast is that he entertained not the slightest objection to the principle of Lord John Russell's abortive Dissenters' Marriage Bill; and that he supported Lord Althorp's measure for

charging the Dissenters with the maintenance and repair of Churches through the Consolidated Fund instead of by parish-rates. Such is the beggarly account of empty boxes, and fine things they are to boast in the province of reformation. All that Sir Robert has supported has been spurned by the classes aggrieved. The Dissenters claim an exemption from church-rates, but the measure which Sir Robert Peel proposes to adopt would fix the charge upon them; the only difference being this, that it would be a national instead of a local tax, and that the power of refusing it, which is now exercised, would be taken away. The expenses of the Church would be as much paid by the Dissenters as the expenses of the Army and Navy. Upon Church Reform, he says:—

"*I cannot give my consent to the alienation of* "*Church property, in any part of the United* "*Kingdom, from strictly ecclesiastical purposes.* "But I repeat now the opinions that I have "already expressed in Parliament in regard to the "Church Establishment in Ireland, that if, by an "improved distribution of the revenues of the "Church, its just influence can be extended, and "the true interests of the established religion pro-"moted, all other considerations should be made "subordinate to the advancement of objects of "such paramount importance. As to Church pro-"perty in this country, no person has expressed a "more earnest wish than I have done that the

" question of tithe, complicated and difficult as I " acknowledge it to be, should, if possible, be " satisfactorily settled, by the means of a commu- " tation founded upon just principles, and pro- " posed after mature consideration."

Thus, if there were not a Protestant layman in Ireland, Sir Robert would, nevertheless, limit the application of the surplus funds to ecclesiastical purposes. But what are they to be? When congregations are wanting, how is the money to be expended? Oh, for that object there is a never-failing resource. In proportion to the decline of Protestantism may be the demand for funds for its propagation. There can be no limit to the sums necessary for making proselytes; and the scarcer the communicants the greater will be the charge for raising them. For crops of converts, the land must be manured with mammon. To this sort of husbandry there is no stint.

With respect to the Reform Bill, our Premier states:—

" I will repeat now the declaration which I " made when I entered the House of Commons as " a member of the Reformed Parliament, that I " consider the Reform Bill a final and irrevocable " settlement of a great constitutional question, a " settlement which no friend to the peace and " welfare of this country would attempt to disturb " either by direct or by insidious means.

" Then, as to the spirit of the Reform Bill, and

"the willingness to adopt and enforce it as a rule "of government—if, by adopting the spirit of the "Reform Bill, it be meant that we are to live in a "perpetual vortex of agitation, that public men "can only support themselves in public estimation "by adopting every popular impression of the day, "by promising the instant redress of anything "which anybody may call an abuse, by abandoning altogether that great aid of Government, "more powerful than either law or reason—the "respect for ancient rights, and the deference to "prescriptive authority,—if this be the spirit of "the Reform Bill, I will not undertake to adopt "it; but if the spirit of the Reform Bill implies "merely a careful review of institutions civil and "ecclesiastical, undertaken in a friendly temper, "combining with the firm maintenance of established rights the correction of proved abuses, "and the redress of real grievances, in that case, "I can, for myself and colleagues, undertake to "act in such a spirit and with such intentions."

He truly observes, that such declarations of general principles are necessarily vague; and, in order to be explicit, he endeavours to prove their application in those instances of assent to the crude and abortive projects of the late Ministry which we have above mentioned. And the Minister who now pretends to submit himself to the Reform Bill and its consequences, in giving his last vote against the measure, emphatically explained that he did so

that he might not be called to the bar of posterity, and to exempt himself from the censure which would naturally arise from the evils, public and private, which he foresaw that Bill must create. And now he is content to administer the ruin he has repeatedly foretold—to carry out the mischievous consequences which he has argued to be inevitable. But to this he consents, lest another party, according to his own showing, should have the exclusive privilege of conducting the nation to that destruction—the deadly fruit of the Reform Bill—from which it has, over and over again, been contended by the Tories there is no escape. If ruin be the certain result, as we have often been told by the Tories, what matters it by whom it is administered? Ay, but Sir Robert Peel cannot endure the exclusion of his party from the administration of ruin, for the sweets which accompany it make them, like Jaffier, "pleased with ruin."

"The question I had to decide was this—shall I "obey the call, or shall I shrink from the respon- "sibility, alleging as the reason that I consider "myself, in consequence of the Reform Bill, as "labouring under a sort of moral disqualification "which must preclude me, and all who think with "me, both now and for ever, from entering into "the official service of the Crown? Would it, I "ask, be becoming in any public man to act upon "such a principle? *Was it fit that I should as-* "*sume that either the object or the effect of the*

" *Reform Bill has been to preclude all hope of a* " *successful appeal to the good sense and calm* " *judgment of the people*, and so to fetter the pre- " rogative of the Crown, that the King has no free " choice among his subjects, but must select his " Ministers from one section, and one section only, " of public men?"

Was it fit that he should assume that the object or effect of the Reform Bill had been to preclude all hope of a successful appeal to the good sense of the people? Why, fit or not fit, he and his colleagues have founded all their arguments and all their reproaches and invectives upon that assumption, and wearied us with the assurance that cureless ruin must be the inevitable consequence of the extension of the popular influence. All their arguments have proceeded on the supposition that the voice of the people is the voice of madness, or of demons—that the popular will, like fire, is destructive in its mastery—that to let it get head is to let it prey on everything precious to society. All this has been loudly proclaimed for the last four years; and every advance, in accordance with the spirit of the Reform Bill, has been resisted as a step towards anarchy and general pillage. Where was it whispered that things were not so bad as they had been painted?—where was it admitted that good government might consist with the new Parliamentary constitution? All the prophecies of incurable ruin were in full force till the call of the Duke of Wel-

lington to Brighton, and then the scales fell from the eyes of the Tories, and they saw that the posture of things was not so hopeless as they had protested—nay more, that Reform was safe and indispensable. We suppose they would now hardly take off Lord Grey's head, as the downfall of the Monarchy does not after all seem so sure as quarter-day. The poet has it that

Gospel truths first dawned in Boleyn's eyes.

The political truths, now for the first time confessed, have all broke from the Treasury. If Sir Robert's convictions have corresponded with his speeches, he must have left England with the seal of destruction on it in the new Parliamentary charter. And what happens? Why, hear him—

"On the 26th of November last, being then at "Rome, I received from his Majesty a summons, "wholly unforeseen and unexpected by me, to re-"turn to England without delay, for the purpose "of assisting his Majesty in the formation of a "new government. I instantly obeyed the com-"mand for my return, and on my arrival I did not "hesitate, after an anxious review of the position "of public affairs, to place at the disposal of my "Sovereign any services which I might be thought "capable of rendering."

He arrived at eight o'clock on the morning of the 9th, and after an anxious review of public affairs, occupying we know not how many minutes,

but certainly not twelve hours, he accepted office. How rapidly must the prospect of ruin have cleared up, and how speedily must he have become reconciled to that once terrible Reform Bill.

In all the present Ministerial arguments the opposition of the Tories now in power to Parliamentary Reform is represented as an opposition to a measure which they merely deemed unnecessary, or, at worst, hazardous. Had such been the extent of their objections, we should see no great inconsistency in their present undertaking, for they might hope to carry a dangerous experiment to a safe conclusion. But this is not their case, nor is it anything like their case. They have protested that the Reform Bill is fraught with the ruin of the country, and that it is impossible for any Government to avert the pillage of property and the destruction of the monarchy. This is the brazen bull of their own making, in which we hold them fast. If they believed in their prophecies of inevitable ruin, what is to be thought of their sagacity? If they did not believe in their prophecies of inevitable ruin, what trust is to be placed in men capable of such monstrous falsehood? They may attribute their past professions to faction, or to folly—to want of understanding, or to contempt of truth—they may confess to blindness, or to the attempt to deceive the country, and, by false imputations of cureless mischief, to destroy the men in whose footsteps they now promise to proceed; but this is the extent of their choice, and to neither the blind nor

the false will the people of England commit the trust of Government.

We are told not to heed the past, and to rejoice in the present acquiescence of the Tories, but let us know to what they acquiesce. The Reform Bill must be looked upon as a thing of beneficial or of mischievous consequences; and when Sir Robert Peel professed the intention of abiding by it, he should have explained whether he regards it as the parent of the one or the other train of effects, and should have stated the grounds upon which he has suddenly formed a new opinion, or adhered to his often-repeated judgment. By his opinion of the good or evil of the measure, the probability of his acting on the spirit of it, and "enforcing it as a rule of Government," might be estimated; that is to say, supposing that any degree of reliance can be placed upon his professions. In this respect then, there is a most important omission in Sir Robert's manifesto.

He protests that he has never been, either before or after the Reform Bill, the defender of abuses, or the enemy of judicious reforms. The immediate inference then is, that the Reform Bill was not a judicious reform; and as he notoriously was the defender of the rotten boroughs, they, according to his present opinion, were not abuses.

To conclude, what does Sir Robert promise to do?

He promises to consider the Corporation Report.

He promises to charge the support and repairs

of Churches on the revenue; thus making Dissenters contribute in general taxation, and saddling the Scotch and Irish with a share of the burden.

He promises to oppose the admission of Dissenters into the Universities, but is graciously pleased to consent, on his own part, to modify the rules in the professions of law and medicine which place under disadvantage those who have not graduated at the Universities.

He promises to support the principle of Lord J. Russell's abortive Marriage Bill.

He promises to resist the revision of the Pension List, but says—

"That pensions on the Civil List ought for the "future to be confined to such persons only as have "just claims to the Royal beneficence, or are en- "titled to consideration on account either of their "personal services to the Crown, or of the perform- "ance of duties to the public, or of their scientific "or literary eminence."

All depends on the notion of "services to the Crown," and when we see the men who are now appointed servants of the Crown, we may form a very correct idea of the sort of services for which Sir Robert will grant pensions. When Goulburn, Aberdeen, Knatchbull, and such, are chosen Ministers, we may easily conceive the nature of the claims to reward which will be recognized.

* The inference was erroneous; the pensions granted by Sir R. Peel were well bestowed.

Such is the amount of Sir Robert's pledges, and only by those open-mouthed for any bait, and ready to bite at the naked hook if nothing else were offered, can they be accepted. We have heard it well remarked, that those who liked our *Joseph Surface* before will like him the better for the address, as those who despised him before will despise him the more for it.

But sham reform is a weak device in the present state of parties. It may be borne for the moment by the Tories, but it will soon be a cause of division in the camp. There are but two parties in the country, the men who desire effective reforms, and they who are opposed to any reform whatever. The folks who call themselves moderate reformers are anti-reformers alarmed into a disguise. To keep up the farce of sham reform, it would be necessary to make a show of something in the way of practical improvement, just between wind and water, that is to say, doing so much as to offend those who are opposed to any change, and not going far enough to content those who demand efficient reforms.

We have been consistent in our opinion of Sir Robert—it is summed up in the name we fixed upon him, *Joseph Surface*—and by which he is now as familiarly and distinctly known as by his formal description. We dubbed him *Joseph Surface* years ago—we think him *Joseph Surface* now; the manifesto is his screen, and we don't believe a word in his "little French milliner"—his petty sham re-

forms. For holding this man to be what we have always thought him—for treating his professions as of no more worth than dicer's oaths—for looking upon him as an accomplished Tartuffe, are we to be accused by the *Standard* of deviations from honour and integrity? Our opinion may be right or wrong, but it has been steadily maintained. It has not been adopted for present circumstances; we avowed it when Sir Robert was in our ranks, in the last struggle for Catholic Emancipation. What has there been in the recent conduct of Sir Robert Peel to induce us to renounce our opinion of his insincerity? Had we before believed in his good faith, we should have seen nothing but craft and hollowness in his manifesto. But there we stop: we do not suppose him capable of playing the part of a great state criminal, as the *Standard* apprehended in '29. We have no fear of a *coup d'état* at his hands. He is a man only dangerous in a small way. Short of certain extremities, we believe him to be unrestrained by any principles, and the creature of his ambition; but wherever any hazard beyond the hazard of character begins, he will be a safe man. There is nothing of the Polignac in his composition. He is incapable of any designs of great atrocity—all his political peccadillos must be of that small size which can be cloaked. For the things which cannot wear a deceit he is no instrument. "Is it plausible?" must be his ruling question. He will go no further than figments will carry him. We are certain

that, in considering the acceptance of office in present circumstances, the only question in Sir Robert's mind was, "Can anything specious be said for it?" He does not think it necessary to impose upon all—perhaps not to impose upon many of his own party—but to furnish such a show of pretences as to give employment to people's eyes and mouths, though it may never reach their convictions. Fielding profoundly observes, "He must have a very "despicable opinion of mankind, indeed, who can "conceive them to be imposed on as often as they "appear to be so. The truth is, that they are in "the same situation with the readers of romance, "who, though they know the whole to be one en-"tire fiction, nevertheless agree to be deceived; "and as these find amusement, so do the others find "ease and convenience in the concurrence."

THE DISSOLUTION.

THE dissolution of Parliament is a very frank proceeding—it is in perfect consistency with the character of the Ministry—it is a virtual declaration of anti-Reform.

Certainly the late House of Commons showed no disposition to advance too rapidly, or to reform

too radically; it disappointed the people by its sufferance and compromises with abuses, but backward as it was, it was too forward for the present Government. It occupied a middle ground, and could not be met by a Ministry which must take its stand upon an extreme—unmitigated Toryism. The *milieu* policy is far too forward for men whose attachments and interests bind them to the maintenance of every abuse. As they have been, so they ever will be in power. They are the veterans of misrule; and cannot but have the strongest dispositions, the most eager desire to return to the system of malversation and oppression which was their political inheritance, and which they perpetually lauded as "working well in practice;"—what fault, what blemish, did they ever discover in it while the Administration was in their hands? and up to their last hour in opposition they resisted every measure for the redress of grievances, contended against every object desired by the people, and, on the other hand, cordially lent their aid in the passing of enactments of a severe character.

In opposition we are accustomed to see public men to the best advantage—never yet did any party in office prove so just or friendly to the people as they have appeared in opposition: in opposition the fairest professions are put forth—it is the courtship of the public—it exhibits men on their best behaviour, they make parade of their noblest motives, their most generous opinions, their justest

principles. In judging of what men are likely to be in power, we all make deductions from the graces they have worn in opposition. Let, then, the electors of the united kingdoms recall to mind the conduct of the Tories in opposition, and judge from it what is likely to be their conduct as a Ministry. Is there a single popular trait to be discovered; is there a single popular sentiment to be quoted; is there a single just and gracious vote to be recorded? If, then, according to all experience, we saw them to the best advantage in opposition, what are we to expect from them in power? The *in*side, in these cases, is, we all know, fouler than the *out*side, and the Tory *out*side wore the grimmest features of misrule—tyranny and malversation were the marked expressions. They did not even condescend to play the hypocrite. They refused the common homage of vice to virtue. Their contempt of the people was so profound, that they never even vouchsafed a popular profession. The Opposition—according to Tierney's description, doubly apt in this instance, his Majesty's Opposition to every measure of justice and improvement—was frank and open till it became his Majesty's Government, when, for the first time, it assumed a mask, because it was idle to suppose that a people would submit to the government of men who were avowedly hostile to all they desired. The mask, however, can deceive no one. It was put on too abruptly to impose

upon the most credulous. Had the Tories played the part of patriots in opposition, there would have been some little colour for the pretences in the Peel Manifesto; but their open hostility to reform in every shape, and their obstinate championship of all odious abuses, up to the very hour of their summons to the King's councils, baffled the art of the great master of deceit.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL AND THE BALLOT.

THE demand for the Ballot increases with the experience of every election. That such would be the case we long ago predicted; and if the desire for secret voting had declined, instead of spreading and strengthening, our opinion of the necessity for protection would have been as much shaken as it is now confirmed. The electors are the best witnesses as to their own pains and troubles, and, feeling the undiminished pressure of the foul influences, they claim the only defence against them. As the homely proverb says, "He who wears the shoe best knows where it pinches;" and a practical acquaintance with the evil has taught the sufferers where to look for the remedy. Still there remains a strong prejudice against the Ballot on

the part of many men whose minds are less struck by the familiar vices in the existing system than by the minor evils in the remedial operation. For instance, the lie which the elector utters in voting against his judgment at the open poll is scarcely thought of, though it is akin to a verdict against the conscience; but much is said in horror of the falsehood which may be consequent upon giving the elector the opportunity of voting against his promises, and according to his public duty—that is, according to his sincere choice. It is clear that the man who would do the one would do the other. The elector who votes at the open poll against his secret preference, would, when shielded by the Ballot, vote against his promise, and according to his judgment. The falsehood is common to both cases, and, as we have often remarked, the difference is simply this—that in the Ballot the public gets what it wants—the sincere choice; and at the open poll it is cheated with a false verdict. There is this, moreover, to be observed, that so long as open voting continues, the foul influences will produce about the same amount of falsehood; but whatever falsehood may be practised after the institution of the Ballot, must be in a steady course of diminution, by the operation of distrust, as men would cease to exact promises when they could place no reliance on professions, and had no opportunity of ascertaining performance. It is the virtue of the Ballot to make the vices self-destructive.

At a dinner given to Lord John Russell at Honiton, he declared that he was still opposed to the Ballot, and gave his reasons as follows:—

"First I must declare, that the objection stated "by Sir Robert Peel when the question was dis- "cussed in the House of Commons, and on which "he mainly relied—namely, that Ballot would in- "crease the power of the democratic branch of our "Constitution, is no reason of mine—our most "ancient statutes, our greatest constitutional law- "yers, our most established maxims, all lay down "the position that the people of England ought to "elect their representatives 'freely and indiffer- "ently.' Whether this right gives too much "influence to democracy or not, I do not inquire; "the right is theirs; the only question is, whether "secret voting is the manner in which it ought to "be exercised? My first objection is, that secret "voting gives to the electors irresponsible power. "All other authorities are exercised in the light of "day, and subject to public opinion. Our courts "of justice, our parliamentary discussions, are "open to the world; the voters alone are to exer- "cise their power unseen and irresponsible."

As we have before observed, if this argument be good for anything, it is for universal suffrage; for to whom would Lord John Russell make the elector responsible but to the non-electors, who, if competent to control and to judge of the proper exercise of the suffrage, must be no less competent to de-

liver it? If the constituency be sufficiently large, its interests are identical with the public interests, and there is no need of a responsibility to make men vote in accordance with their notions of their interests. It is clear that we must come down somewhere to an irresponsible power. Lord John Russell would have the electoral responsible to the non-electoral body, but to whom is the non-electoral body to be answerable for the exercise of its judgment. A people cannot be affected with political responsibility, and a good electoral system gives an uncontrollable power to such a portion as may have interests in good government identical with those of the whole.

Lord John Russell truly states, that the elector's free choice is the object desired; but yet, to submit the choice to another judgment, he would expose the voter to that which may be fatal to the freedom of his choice. And for what? To ascertain whether he votes conscientiously; but in the attempt to ascertain whether he votes conscientiously (which, be it observed, can only be known with certainty to the elector himself) he is to be exposed to influences which may prevent him from voting conscientiously. As well might a surgeon propose to ascertain the soundness of a living man's vital organs by cutting open his body and prying into his anatomy. The operation in such case is fatal to the object of the inquiry. Bajazet carried scrutiny to this sort of extremity when one of his officers was

charged by a poor widow with having stolen her children's milk. The accused having protested his innocence, Bajazet said, "We will soon discover the truth of this matter—cut open his stomach, and let us see what is in it." This was carrying the principle of publicity as far as it could go; but the judge had omitted to observe, that the man, though guiltless, would be destroyed in the process of proving his honesty.

Those persons who insist on seeing the elector's vote, in order to judge of its integrity, overlook the important consideration, that in bringing it under view they may destroy the freedom of choice of which they desire to assure themselves.

Lord John Russell proceeds as follows:—

"Let us consider, in the next place, how con-
"trary this practice (*i. e.* secret voting) would be
"to our habits and feelings. The elector is proud
"of his independence; be he Whig, Tory, or Ra-
"dical, he boasts of the candidate of his choice;
"he wears his colours; he adopts his motto; he
"follows his banner. Can you, or ought you, to
"prevent this honest and open exhibition of the
"free spirit of Englishmen? But we are told that
"this may still continue for the voters who are in-
"dependent, while the rest may keep their opinion
"a secret. Have those who thus argue considered
"the consequence? We should then have two
"classes of voters—one open, bold, and manly; the
"other skulking from an avowal of their sentiments,

" bearing about with them the load of anxious con-
" cealment, and afraid to whisper even to their
" nearest connections the dangerous secret."

Lord John Russell views the subject on one side, and on that one side but imperfectly. The elector may be proud of his independence when he happens to be independent; but how many are dependent in various degrees, upon landlords, patrons, customers, &c., and such as these are obliged to boast the candidate not of their choice, to wear his colours, to adopt his motto which their hearts spurn, to follow his banner which they would trample under foot. Ought you, we ask of Lord John Russell, to permit of this moral degradation of the men, and prostitution of the franchise?

Lord John Russell observes, that the Ballot would give us two classes of voters, "The one open, bold, and manly; the other skulking from the avowal of their sentiments, and bearing about with them the load of anxious concealment." And what is the condition of the dependent elector in the present system, who votes against his judgment? For very shame, rather than confess himself a slave, he falsely professes opinions in accordance with his extorted vote, "shrinks from the avowal of his sentiments, and bears about with him a load of anxious concealment." The Ballot would give this man—and there are, unhappily, thousands such—a place of power for the dictates of his conscience, and from the moment that he could

securely oppose the will of his oppressors, they would feel the danger of attempting to tyrannize, and the hypocrisies would cease with the motives for it. Falsehood and artifice are the offspring of oppression, and the Ballot puts an end to oppression by making it defeat its own object; for to stir resentment by dictation and menaces would provoke an adverse vote where the act of revolt could not be witnessed.

Lord John Russell's error appears to us to be this: he supposes two things incompatible with each other; first, and truly, that the Ballot would afford protection against corrupt influence; and secondly, that the practice of attempting to influence would remain in full vigour, notwithstanding the operation of the Ballot.

Among the evils of open voting the counterfeit opinion of those who profess politics corresponding with their votes, but against their judgments, has not been sufficiently noticed. In proportion to the value of public opinion must be the mischief of any spurious show of opinion which passes for the genuine—it is false evidence.

Lord John Russell concluded as follows:—

"Will this be an improvement of our institu-
"tions? *I am sensible,* gentlemen—*no man*
"*more so—of the progress which the question of*
"*Ballot has made during the late elections;* nor
"will I deny that, as an ultimate remedy, we may
"be obliged to adopt it—but let us first exhaust

" every other. If, by the force of public opinion " and public shame—if, by rigid investigation and " exemplary punishment, we can find means to " check intimidation and corruption, let these " means be fully tried. Nay, more—let all hope " of a remedy by these means be terminated before " we agree to a change at variance with our " ancient habits, inconsistent with our best insti- " tutions, and degrading to our national spirit."

We confess that we have no respect for the " ancient habit " of intimidating voters, and we are zealous advocates for the un-English novelty of a free choice. As for Lord John Russell's reliance on exemplary punishment for the correction of the evil, there is this one objection to be made to it, that, difficult as bribery is of detection, intimidation is more so, and, indeed, too subtle for cognizance. It needs not a threat. The man who can be benefited or injured by a patron, landlord, &c., has only to learn what is the wish or pleasure of such person, and to apprehend the consequences of thwarting it.

COMMENCEMENT OF IMPROVEMENT UNDER A TORY GOVERNMENT.

LITTLE has been done in Parliament, but yet the Ministry has exhibited some characteristic traits.

Already it has to boast a reform. It has hitherto been the practice of the troops employed in quelling disturbances to fire over the heads of the people for the purpose of intimidation. The practical improvement under the Tory Government is instantly to give a more efficient direction to the musketry. Here, then, is their first reform—a reform in shooting, and a saving measure too, preventing the waste of powder and ball. There are to be no more sinecure bullets, no more barking without biting. "The beginning," says the Latin proverb, "is half the business;" and as this is the beginning of improvement under a Tory Government, what will be the other moiety?

We by no means deny the reform in musketry, but it is highly curious that it should be the first under the Tory auspices. A strict appropriation of bullets and Church property is insisted on by the same Government. Irish peasants who resist paying tithes to a Church of another faith, must

know that bullets will be dispensed with a stricter aim than religious instruction, and that the musket will find employment on men, though the Parson does not. There are Churches enough in Ireland which preach over the heads of the people, and it would be good to give them an aim at the hearts at the same time with the firelocks, or else to draw their charges.

We have said that we do not dispute the fitness of the order brought under notice in Parliament by Mr O'Dwyer. It has been truly observed, that a riotous mob is emboldened by the discharge of fire-arms without effect, and that more bloodshed than might at first have been necessary is the consequence. In towns it has often happened that some innocent person at a distance, or gazing out of a window, has fallen by the fire aimed above the heads of the rioters. Also, as the *Chronicle* observes,—"The order to fire effectively will "check the resort to arms, for the purpose of "alarming, when the case does not warrant the "employment or the menace of the bullet."

We agree that the practice of relieving rioters from the apprehension of a volley of musketry, by firing over their heads, was bad, but the concealment of the order is the most barbarous piece of folly of which we have yet had an example, and Sir Robert Peel vehemently pleaded for it, and contended that the whole benefit would be lost if the people were warned that the first fire, which,

according to custom, was aimed over their heads, would be steadily directed against those resisting the law. Sir Robert was adverse to any other promulgation than that of the bullet, which, to say truth, has been the common preceptor employed by the Tory Government in Ireland, and a very dull master he is, after all. The Premier was content that, by process of death and wounds, it should be found out that the troops no longer threw away a fire in warning. He was for an agreeable surprise. The feeling of the House was, however, decidedly against him; and Sir Henry Hardinge, though objecting to the production of the order, promised that the substance should be promulgated, so as to inform the public of the course which the military were instructed to pursue, and to remove any doubt or uncertainty that may exist. This is all right; but let it be observed that the sense of the House compelled the proper course in the teeth of Sir Robert Peel; and that, if the affair had been left where he prayed it might be left, in the hands of Government, the humane warning to the people would not have been given, and the altered system would have been a snare to the unapprised.

Faulty in the manner of it as this has been, we suspect that, as it is the first, it will be the completest improvement effected under this Ministry. In levelling the musket, the Tories have put their best foot foremost. They will aim nothing well except their bullets.

Sir Robert Peel has pledged himself to the fatal principle, that ecclesiastical property cannot be diverted from strictly ecclesiastical purposes. The surplus funds of the Protestant Church in Ireland cannot, according to him, be justly alienated to Catholic uses. Will he explain, then, by what right the revenues of a Catholic Church were appropriated to a Protestant Establishment? By what title did our Church acquire that which cannot be alienated from it? Is it a peculiarity of Catholic revenues, that they alone are alienable by the State? After the assertion of this doctrine by the Premier, who can be weak enough to expect any measure worthy of the name of Church Reform from this Ministry?

The just quarrel of the Irish is with the imposition of a Church of another faith on them—a large and richly endowed Establishment for a small minority of the population; and, until that insulting grievance, that sign of subjection, that strange yoke, be removed, Ireland will not and ought not to know repose. She has other troubles and causes of distress and strife; but, until the great injustice is abandoned, what justice is to be expected in minor matters? The pledge for fair intentions and good government is, the abatement of that enormous and affronting abuse. But never will this sign of peace be seen under a Tory Government. All those things which, in the songs of amatory poets, must happen before inconstancy,

will surely come to pass before the Tories accomplish an efficient Church reform. The vitals of the party are in ecclesiastical and municipal abuses.

The pretence of the Tory Ministry, that it is big with reforms, is like the trick of women, under sentence of death, to procure a respite by the plea of pregnancy; but in the latter case the party is kept under bolt and bar during the period for proving the falsehood of the pretence—and so it must be with our lying-in Government. It must be kept in close confinement, and trusted with none of the means of corruption, and fed only from day to day, as it were. The supplies (if not placed in the hands of Commissioners) and the Mutiny Bill should be granted for the shortest possible term consistent with the public service. When the trustees of the public purse cannot in the slightest degree depend on the Government, the Government must depend on the House. The King has the Ministers of his choice, but it is for the representatives of the people, who see in these Ministers the inveterate enemies of their rights, to fetter their hands, and gyve their legs, so as to make them as powerless of any great mischief as they are incapable of good. Their range of mischief may, by a firm exercise of prudence, be closely limited; but there is no force that can oblige them to perform beneficial services. And

this, as we have before remarked, is the great evil in the present state of things, that though mischief may be controlled, good is at a stand, and the country, which has made such exertions and sacrifices to procure reform, is deprived of the fruits of its labours. As the trite proverb says, "You may drive the horse to the water, but you cannot make him drink." The *Globe* pithily states the case, in saying, that "The Prime Minister is the leader of an opposition, with the emoluments of office;" and it has been an opposition to the rights, the dignity, and the happiness of the people in every part of the world.

It is acutely observed by the *Chronicle*, that "Ministers derive this advantage from the very ex-"tent of their dishonesty, that people become at "length tired of dwelling on what is notorious and "undeniable."

The grossest misconduct, too, appears only the natural proceeding of such a Government, and the mission of a Londonderry to Vienna, or the countenance and encouragement of the Orange faction, seem as much in the course of things as the poison borne by nightshade. When Voltaire was called upon for a story in a company amusing themselves with tales of robbers, he began, "Gentlemen, once upon a time there was a Farmer of Taxes," and then stopped—proceed, proceed was the cry—"I have done," said the wit; "I have nothing more to

" say—you know all that is to be narrated of rob-
" bery, when I have told you that there was once
" on a time a Farmer of Taxes."

So all that can be said of misgovernment is included in the fact that we have a Tory Ministry. It acts according to its kind, and as it cannot be other or better, its particular offences escape under the odium of its notorious nature. Hence, instead of expatiating on the indecency and imperiousness of the encouragement given by Government to a mischievous faction bearing its likeness, it almost seems enough to observe, after the manner of the brief example of Voltaire, we have a Tory Ministry.

BREAKING UP OF THE TORY MINISTRY.

THE enemy have laid down their arms, after a campaign short, indeed, but filled up with a series of defeats. Their last blow was struck for bigotry. Their last stand was made for a tyrannical abuse. In their surrender they have tacitly confessed the might of justice. They attempted to uphold the sineeure Church of Ireland, and the insolent ascendancy of which it is sign, and they found themselves powerless in the hands of the people's

representatives. They have had the trial they asked; it has been sharp and short, and the issue is another condemnation. There is no change in them, or in public opinion; and the same vice has the same judgment against it that was recorded five years ago.

It is satisfactory to know that the Tories owe their defeat to the deep conviction of the injustice and injuriousness of their principles, and that the best powers have been in vain exerted to make the worse appear the better reason. All that could be done, by dexterity and fertility in resource, has been done by Sir Robert Peel. In his hands the worse cause has had the best advocacy. The sense of justice was, however, too strong for the sophist and all his arts of evasion. We have not only to acknowledge the generalship of Sir Robert Peel; we readily avow, for our own parts, that in his defeat he has conquered some prejudice that we entertained towards him; we hold our opinion that he trampled upon principle in entering upon office under the notorious circumstances which we need not recite; but we admit, unhesitatingly and ungrudgingly, that his conduct throughout the contest, within the walls of Parliament, has been fair and manly, and that the mode of his resignation, especially, is highly honourable to him. His parting address is unexceptionable, and in the act of retiring, in submission to the expressed opinion of the majority of the people's representatives, he

has, in one important instance, observed the pledge he gave, upon accepting office, to conform to the principles of the Reform Bill. Though he has not governed according to that promise, he has the grace of having quitted government most becomingly in the fulfilment of it. Altogether, Sir Robert has risen in estimation; but it must be remembered that he has risen from a very low depth, and that what he has retrieved in character is moral, not political (according to the common distinction improperly made between the terms). He has gained reputation, which he before wanted, for fair dealing; he has shown himself, in quitting place, superior to factious motives and factious spleen; but his political principles are not in the slightest degree redeemed from their discredit; on the contrary, they are more obnoxious, more disgraced; and, as the public judgment ripens, every fresh consideration of them which is provoked will increase their odium.

Altogether, we may look back upon the last four months as a most important passage in our political history. The trial has been of sweet uses; it has been productive of some most valuable results. The Tories have had another lesson of their fallibility. The people have presented another grand example of their constancy, their firmness, and their moderation. They have signally shown that they know how to exercise their constitutional privileges, and having done so, to

fall back and leave the field of conflict to their appointed representatives. The conduct of the people during the late struggle is a most satisfactory example of the working of the Reform Bill. Up to the last anxious moment, confiding in their representatives, who have proved worthy of the confidence, they left the battle to be fought by the constitutional agents. Because they felt their legitimate power in Parliament, they refrained from the demonstrations of opinion, such as addresses and meetings, which it was their right, but not their prudence, to make. The Tories, on the other hand, when they found themselves defeated in Parliament, vainly attempted to get up a show of public opinion against the decisions of the representative body.

But the recent events do not only teach us the reliance to be placed on the people; they also make full as manifest the emptiness of Tory assertions, threats, and promises. First, these men were loud in their boasts that there was a reaction in the country, and that a new election would give them a large majority in the House of Commons. The Parliament was dissolved; bribery and corruption did their worst, but, nevertheless, the just cause had a decisive advantage in the returns; but yet, even with the names before them, the Tories contended that they had a majority. The Duke of Wellington was so deceived, that he rated his force at little less than 400. Well, when

the play is played out, and the strength of parties measured past dispute, then the next discovery is, that the House of Commons does not represent the opinion of the country, and half-a-dozen addresses and hole-and-corner meetings are got up to speak the voice of the nation. When it came to this fooling, Sir Robert Peel saw that it was indeed time for him to depart; but such was the infatuation of his followers, that even then, on the day of his resignation, there was a meeting at Lord F. Egerton's to consider a motion of confidence in the Ministry—the sagacious reasoning being, that as the Opposition had not made a motion declaratory of want of confidence, the affirmative could be carried, and, to make the thing more rich, in the teeth of Lord John Russell's successful resolution, which the leader of the Ministry was pledged to resist. Now we ask whether such monstrous blunders must not deprive Tory representations of all credit, even with their own people? None of their anticipations are realized—all their calculations are falsified. The regular progress of the popular cause gaining ground like a tide, the wave breaking and retreating, but the next wave breaking in advance of the other and not retreating so far back, and the flood always steadily moving on under these appearances of fluctuation,—this—even this is not so remarkable as the perpetual miscarriage, miscalculation, error, and failure of every kind of the anti-Reform or Tory party.

They are always sure of success till the experiment is made, which ends in the most notable disaster. They have spent the last five months in discovering that they cannot govern the country, after all their vapouring and boasting. They have not the modesty of the Irishman, who said he did not know whether he could play the fiddle, as he had not tried. They are always confident of their fiddling till they get the stick in their hands, and then, forsooth, after some wretched scrapes, they come down and confess that they have not the mastery of the instrument.

The public look with intense anxiety to the formation of the new Ministry. Upon it will depend much of the future weal or woe of the country. The people have been tranquil and patient during the exciting struggle just terminated, because they had confidence in their representatives, who, in fact, governed in opposition; they will continue tranquil and patient if they have the same confidence in the men who govern in the King's Councils. It is certain that no ministry can make a stand against the progress of Reform; but those who would delay its course, or conduct it in a lukewarm or reluctant spirit, work this mischief, that they provoke the people to do that for themselves which they see their rulers are not disposed to do for them. A backward government makes a forward people. The dreaded pressure from without is caused by the vacuum of purpose

within. A government which really desires the correction of abuses, and resolutely applies itself to its object, will never have to complain of the impatience of the people; for not only are the people just, and ready to make large allowance, when they have confidence in good intentions, but, moreover, they never will take the trouble of bestirring themselves while they are assured that others, invested with sufficient powers, are labouring in their behalf. A popular movement is always referable to aggression or omission. The course of good government is never troubled with it; and while statesmen are working in the right direction for the people, if they have to complain, it is of inertness, not of interference; for, so long as there is confidence in the intentions and capacity of persons in authority, it is difficult to get the people to move in their own behalf, even when there is occasion for their exertions in aid.

Again, therefore, we say, that for the deliberate preparation and consideration, and the orderly progress of measures of improvement, it is of the first importance that we should have a Ministry composed of men in whose purposes large bodies of the people have confidence. Let us see the right spirit in the Government, and all allowances shall be made for the difficulties it may have to encounter. We want personal pledges for the disposition to do justice. The men who have the confidence of thousands and of millions, cannot be refused the

confidence of their Monarch without detriment to his authority. The King who desires a strong Government should bring his opinion of men as much into harmony with public opinion as his measures. To intimate to a nation that he scorns or rejects those whom they honour—that he excludes from trust those who reign in a people's affections, does not, to say the least, tend to strengthen respect for the Throne, or the sentiment of loyalty; and any Government formed with such exceptions must of course be regarded with a distrustful and unfavourable eye.

THE BISHOPS' CHURCH REFORM.

ACCORDING to the report of the Ecclesiastical Commission, the net income of all the Bishoprics of England and Wales, on an average of three years, amounted in 1831 to 157,731*l.*; but a decrease of about 9,000*l.* is stated to be expected. It is evident, however, that this calculation of diminution is likely to be over rather than under the mark, and it is probable that the value of fines on renewal of leases has not been fully estimated in it. The Commission, however, rating the future reve-

nues at 148,875*l.*, come to the startling conclusion that—

"The total income of the Bishoprics in England "and Wales will thus *no longer be sufficient to* "*afford an adequate income to each Bishop, merely* "*by a different arrangement;* and the most obvi- "ous mode of supplying the deficiency will be "permanently to annex to some of the poorer "Bishoprics certain cathedral preferments, parti- "cularly in the chapters of St Paul's and West- "minster, on account of their position in the me- "tropolis."

Now, taking the future revenue at 148,875*l.* (which we have good reason to suppose is under-rated, as men are always disposed to err on that side in calculations for this sort of inquiry), let us see to what extent it will furnish a provision for twenty-six Bishops. It is settled by the Commission (we shall not stop here to inquire with what reason) that the sees of London, Durham, and Winchester, ought to be richer than the other Bishoprics, and, reversing the order of proceeding adopted by the Commission, we shall begin at the bottom of the scale of preferment, and first see what can be done for the twenty-one smaller Bishoprics.

Let us suppose them provided with 4,500*l.* a year, which the Report itself admits to be a sufficient income. This would amount to 94,500*l.*, and would leave the sum of 54,375*l.* to be appor-

tioned to two Archbishops, and the three favoured sees of London, Durham, and Winchester. We will then suppose 7,000*l.* a year given to each of these Bishops, and 21,000*l.* will be deducted from the 54,375*l.*, leaving no less a sum than 33,375*l.* to be shared between the two Archbishops, or an income of 16,687*l.* to each. The account, then, stands thus:—

" 21 Bishops, at incomes of	£4,500 . .	£94,500
" 3 Pet Bishops, ditto . . .	7,000 . .	21,000
" 2 Archbishops, ditto . .	16,687 . .	33,374
		148,874
" Diminished income of Bishoprics, " according to the report of the " Commission		£148,875

Leaving an odd pound sterling to go to the account of Queen Anne's Bounty, for the increase of small livings; or, if the Commissioners be of opinion that the episcopal revenues cannot, in their reduced and inadequate state, bear that deduction, let ten shillings be added to the 16,687*l.* a year of the two Archbishops.

We should like to know where there is any deficiency in the scale we have proposed. Is 4,500*l.* a year too little for a Bishop? Is 7,000*l.* a year too slender an income for the sees of London, Durham, and Winchester? Is 16,687*l.* 10*s.* beggary for the Archbishops? And all these may be provided out of the sum which the Ecclesiastical Com-

mission has pronounced insufficient to afford an adequate income to each Bishop, however it might be distributed. If the Archbishops complain that 16,687*l.* 10*s.* is not enough for their support, or that it would be an inadequate temptation in the way of the *prizes* of the profession, the incomes of the inferior Bishops may bear a reduction to 4,000*l.* a year, and 5,250*l.* may be added to the sees of York and Canterbury, raising them to 21,937*l.* 10*s.*, and would that be deemed enough? or should something be taken from each of the three pet Bishoprics of 7,000*l.* a year, to make up a sufficiency for the Archbishops?

We will now suggest the distribution of the episcopal revenues (inadequate as they are declared by the Commission), which would be satisfactory to the people, who desire to see the Clergy living in modesty and moderation, and observing in their lives some correspondence with their precepts.

For the twenty-four Bishops an income of 3,000*l.* would suffice for all suitable purposes, and amongst them we do not include ostentation and pageantry —the total amount would be 72,000*l.*; to this let us add incomes of 5,000*l.* a year for the two Archbishops, and the whole charge would be 82,000*l.* If, for reasons only known to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, the sees of London, Durham, and Winchester, should be richer than the others, let them be rated at 3,500*l.* instead of 3,000*l.*, and the total will then be 83,500*l.*, which, deducted from the 148,875*l.*, deemed so inadequate by the Com-

mission, would leave a surplus of 65,375*l.* for the increase of poor livings, and would provide a subsistence for nearly 200 clergymen.

What use can the Bishops make of their wealth equal to this use! In the report, we observe their charities and hospitalities rated at great cost; but when we see their mansions, their equipages, their state according to their incomes, it is clear that the excess of wealth does not find vent in charity, and that the channels of show and luxury in which it runs are sufficient to carry it all off. The people, who see certain streets filled with the grooms, horses, and carriages of wealthy prelates, may ask where there is room for their charities? Charity does much with little—and, from all that we see, we may add, little with much. The widow's cruise was no ample store.

PANTOMIME AND POLITICS.

It is probable that we shall never say all that is in us on the subject of Pantomime, whose end was and is to hold the mirror up to Politics; to show Improvement her own changes, Toryism its own image, and the very age and body of Aristocracy its form and pressure. To us, much thinking of these matters, it has always seemed that Pantomime was the personification of Politics. Harlequin is the innovator

working miracles with a sword of wood, purporting that the age of iron has passed away, and typical of the instrument by which great effects are produced, whose tough material, and somewhat dull edge, are nevertheless symbolic of the common understanding—the wooden sword is public opinion. Harlequin is never quiet, never in repose—always flitting about, perpetually in pursuit, he represents the Movement Party—*virtus nescia stare in loco.* The cap on his head is the cap of liberty of the sober, peaceful colour. His mask adumbrates the necessity for the Ballot. Columbine represents the Happiness to which Improvement is devoted. The Clown follows them—the personification of Toryism—a glutton and a thief—with a hand to seize and a pouch to hold; always in mischief and in roguery—the sworn foe of the innovator, ever persecuting or plundering, but with a blessed aptitude for running his head against the wall, and catching stray buffets and slaps on faces. And who is his confederate, that lean, hobbling old fellow, as Leigh Hunt observes, "so void of any handsome infirmity," with his wizen, sharp features, curling pigtail, long nut-cracker-like nose and chin, pottering about in an incapacity for any thing but to fall to and enjoy other men's meat? That is Aristocracy—the very age and body of Aristocracy, the genius of the Peerage. You see he is a gentleman of the old school—of the school so old that every thing learnt in it has been forgotten except idleness—his shoes have pink heels, his hair is powdered, and

the pig-tail is emblematic of his character—the *tail* denoting the backwardness, and the *pig* the obstinacy of his disposition. In morals you will see there is not a whit to choose between him and the Clown, both are proper rogues, but Pantaloon has better manners, and carries himself with an imbecile dignity. He is not so forward and practical as the Clown; he does not make such bold inroads, or plunge into men's pockets as if it was his nature to live in them—as if his element were felony; but he is always ready to toddle off with the booty the other has fingered, and to go snacks in it. Now and then Clown and Pantaloon have their tiffs, as we have seen Toryism and Aristocracy sparring in the Wellington rule, but after a round or two of buffets they espy Harlequin at his changes, and forget their quarrel in the eagerness of their animosity towards the common enemy. Though the Clown is decidedly Conservative, being a great coward, and also a thief anxious to hold what is not his own—to possess what he has pilfered, which is the interpretation of the word Conservative in its present use; and though Pantaloon is of the Stationary party, as he is gouty and decrepit, yet they are both obliged to move for the persecution of Harlequin. The Clown too follows and imitates the exploits of the innovator, and boasts he can do the same, but with that *juste milieu*, that happy medium between attempt and performance which is called bungling in every thing but politics, in which it takes the name of moderation.

THE MELBOURNE MINISTRY.

COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

We cannot say that the composition of the Ministry is all that we could wish; nor can we believe that it is, in some respects, the best of which circumstances admitted—though we are far from underrating the difficulties and embarrassments that Lord Melbourne had to contend with; but, nevertheless, such as the Government is, we have no hesitation in calling upon the people to afford it the most active and vigorous support. Every opportunity of rendering it aid should be seized or contrived; the Ministry, and the enemies of the Ministry, should both be made to feel, in very different ways, what can be done by the popular power for a Government upon which any hopes of good are built. We don't say wait for the trial of these men, but support them before the trial, even as if it were certain that they would come worthily out of the trial, and that support will go far towards effecting the desired event. Wherever a service can be rendered, especially in elections, let

it be done, and with a prodigal zeal. In every possible way show the Government the power it has got at its back, and the danger of provoking the resentment of that power will be felt no less than the value of its aid. The champion of the faintest purpose, who is followed to the field by an anxious multitude, must find it safer to fight his foe than to fly and face the wrath of his own host.

The people have the two ways of making their influence strongly felt—in serving, or in opposing; and, before there is occasion for hostility, they should show, in the present state of parties, whenever opportunity offers, what they can do in return for the profession of popular purposes. We hold that, in this course, there is every probability of obtaining advantage, and absolutely no risk of loss; for, even though the popular aid should be given to the unworthy and the ungrateful, the display of the spirit and the resources of the people would have its salutary effect on their enemies. Should this Ministry disappoint the country, our case will not be the worse because it has been shown that the mere hope of measures of reform could call forth the zeal and exertions of the people in behalf of their Government. From what had been done for the trial of the unworthy, the support that would wait on the deserving would be inferred, and the depth and earnestness of the public will. Of this we may be quite certain, that whether the disposi-

tions of the new Ministry are good or wavering, nothing can be so unfavourable to their taking or holding the right character as apathy on the part of the people. We wish the Ministry, in its period of probation, to be made to feel the friendship of the people in every possible way. While any good can be hoped from them, all good offices should be rendered to them. Every exertion should be made to put them in the best train for the commencement of their career, and to guard them against any disadvantage or discredit—such as the defeat of their candidates for re-election. As we would have them do their best for us, so let us now do our best for them, while yet all is expectation or favourable presumption. Their destiny is in their intentions. The Ministry will stand or fall as it is true or false to the people. It has had ample experience of friends and foes; and if it seek aid where it last found destruction, it will suffer again the same fate, but with this difference—that, instead of the generous sympathy and succour of the people, it will have their contempt and execration. We have had much of temporizing and compromising with enemies, and the time for it is past—the patience, the temper for it exhausted.

It will be found, too, that the public will no longer accept of insufficiency under the name of moderation. The Dissenters have already signified that they will have full measure of justice. Our Ministers should adopt the speech of Colonel Titus

—"We are advised to be moderate; but I do not "take moderation to be a prudential virtue in all "cases. If I were flying from thieves, should I "ride moderately, lest I break my horse's wind? "If I were defending my own life, or the lives of "my wife and children, should I strike moderately, "lest I put myself out of breath? And if we "were in a sinking ship, ought we to pump mode-"rately, lest we bring on a fever?"

The *Times* states that the English and Irish Radicals are dissatisfied with the appointments that have been made. With much elation it gives out that, "In this country, among the English Radi-"cals—we have it upon the best authority—distrust "and discontent prevails to a very serious extent." In answer to this, we confidently assert that there is not the slightest reason to apprehend any disunion; and that the Radical Reformers, who may be least pleased with the present Ministerial arrangements, are yet resolved to give the Government a cordial support during its trial. They will certainly not encourage Ministers, in any wrong tendencies, but they will as certainly not desert them till they desert the cause of the people. It will not be the fault of the Radicals if the alliance with the Ministerial party be not closer than it has ever yet been since the struggle for the Reform Bill.

We feel that our opinion on this subject is intitled to some weight—as the men, the neglect of whom in the formation of the Ministry is sup-

posed to have excited resentment, are precisely those whose services and claims we rate most highly. This circumstance, however, does not make us one whit the less anxious to maintain the present Government against the common enemy, so long as we believe it to have a common enemy in the Tories. Nor can we say that we regret the omission of the persons to whom we refer, except as the desire to have the aid of such men would have marked the liberal disposition of the Ministry; but, for the sake of the public cause, we think it better that they should stand apart from office in present circumstances. We thoroughly agree with the *London Review*, that the place of power for complete Reformers is an independent station. To borrow the figure of the *Times*, they must form one side of the groove in which the Government is to run; and the Whigs have, undoubtedly, left the boundary in all its compactness.

Naturally, the Tories can only suppose one motive for public conduct—place. They cannot conceive it possible that any men can labour for the benefit of society in the field of politics without that object. They therefore suppose that the Radicals must break off their alliance with the Whigs, and throw the Government into the hands of the inveterate enemies of improvement, because the Whigs do not share office with them. They allude to men as discontented, and ready to turn against the new Administration on no better

grounds than that they are not seen in place. Mr Edward Lytton Bulwer, for example, rendered great service to the Melbourne Ministry by his pamphlet on its dismissal; and the Tories, knowing how to value the blow from having felt it, and not finding Mr Bulwer's name among the appointments, have jumpt to two conclusions,—that Mr Bulwer desires office, and that it has not been offered to him; he is, therefore, numbered by them among the men of disappointed expectations. We believe that Mr Bulwer has had a very satisfactory communication from the Chief of the Ministry, and that whether he declines or accepts office, he has the fullest confidence that the general policy of the Government will be such as he can consistently support. But he is far from desirous of office. His interests and his best ambition are equally opposed to it, as his literary emoluments exceed those of any ordinary salary, and his position as a writer, first in popularity, and as an independent politician, is far above that of any official seat. As for the services which Mr Bulwer rendered to the Melbourne Ministry by the publication of his pamphlet, he repudiates any claim on that score, as it was an expression of opinion intended only for the service of truth and justice. He looks for his only reward in the promotion of those principles for which he gave the Ministry credit when he showed the injustice of their dismissal. To serve the public, in serving

the Government, is his hope, and he looks to the good opinion of his countrymen as his reward. Thus much in answer to the ill-natured stories so actively circulated by the enemy as to Mr Bulwer's views; and we have reason to believe that his feelings, as to the value of a station of independence, are generally shared by the Radicals in Parliament—indeed we are not aware of a single exception. Tories may incredulously sneer at this, for they cannot conceive any motives but their own; but when the time comes they will find, to their cost, no signs of disappointment in the united majority, protective of the trial of the Melbourne Ministry.

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S SPEECH TO THE MERCHANT TAILORS' COMPANY.

WHAT sort of speech do people expect to hear from Sir Robert Peel? Do they expect to hear him launch out in praise of malversation, enlarge upon the convenience and desirableness of sinecures, commend the overpayment of officers, and the waste of public money in every possible way? Is he expected to avow his ardent and unalterable attachment to all abuses, and to pledge himself to

resist the redress of grievances? Is he expected to declare that the government of the country must be conducted in defiance of the House of Commons, and that the prerogatives of the Crown and authority of the Lords should be employed to beat down the legitimate power of the people? Is he expected to advocate the repeal or mutilation of the Reform Bill, and to propose the restoration of the rotten boroughs, with schedules A and B for the disfranchisement of populous towns? Is he expected to advise the Tories to recover their influence in the representation by bribery and intimidation, and to hold jobbing in view as the great reward and end of all their exertions? And, for his own part, is he expected to proclaim a passion for office which he would gratify at any sacrifice of principle, and an eager desire to raise himself, by the possession of power, to a condition of equality or superiority to those haughty aristocrats who, while they are glad to avail themselves of his prowess in the vindication of their cause, sneer at the lowliness of his origin?

If these candid professions were to be expected, then, but not otherwise, may Sir R. Peel's speech to the Merchant Tailors' Company be hailed as of important signification. No one avows a love for abuses and oppressions; all profess an abhorrence of these things, and their sincerity is judged of by their conduct in abating or defending them when occasion offers. Sir Robert Peel declares against

sinecures, and pledges himself to maintain the most exasperating and mischievous of all sinecures, those of the Church in Ireland.

In words, there is no great disagreement between Sir Robert Peel and the Reformers; but there is an enormous difference in things. He hates abuses, but he loves the things which the people deem abuses, and denies the application of the bad name to them. Show him an abuse, let him see that it is an abuse, and he will remove it; but the impossible task is the conviction. The Tories promise to destroy abuses upon production, as they might promise to destroy griffins and dragons. Bring the thing before them, and they pronounce it not an abuse, not an injustice, but a necessary prop or ornament of the altar or the throne. It is to be observed that they never specify abuses. Their hostility is confined to the abstract term. In the whole empire there is but one thing which Sir Robert Peel instances as wrong, and that is, that the Tories are dispossessed of the dominant power. "Do you know of anything amiss in my house?" asks Don Diego of his negro.—"A d—— deal," answers Mungo; "how you beat me last week, massa!" The main, the only specified grievance of Sir Robert's speech is the beating he has had from the mastery of the people. This is what he is all anxiety to cure. Through the Crown and the Lords his party may hold the checks, and keep

the Government in a dead-lock, but the command of the purse is necessary to the active powers and the sweets of office, and that can only be had by a majority in the Commons; so the ex-Minister admonishes his friends not to rely on the prerogatives of the King, or the authority of the Peers, but to apply themselves to the increase of their influence in the Lower House, but without resort to bribery. This is somewhat like the uncle's advice to his prodigal nephew, in the old story:—"You say you "are without money or employment; I cannot help "you to either, but I will give you some good ad- "vice—buy an estate in the country, and live "within your means." How are the Tories to acquire the influence recommended without the bribery? But Sir Robert's caveat against bribery will be understood, like the Irish gentleman's request to the mob, "not by any means in the world to nail the bailiff's ear to the pillory."

Sir Robert exhorts the Tories not to take a desponding view of public affairs, and to "stick to the Reform Bill," and neither to propose nor to suffer any alteration of it. In 1831 he solemnly assured the same party that the Reform Bill was fraught with certain destruction to the country, that if it passed they must consider the ruin of the monarchical government as inevitable; and now he very coolly tells them not to despond, and to stick to the catamaran as the life-boat in

which to save their fortunes. We quote from the speech :—

"He recommended a cordial union of the Con-
"servatives with those who, before the passing of
"the Reform Bill, had differed from them, but who
"were, nevertheless, of opinion, that *that Bill was*
"*not to be made the platform upon which a new*
"*battery was to be erected against the other insti-*
"*tutions of the country.*"

And this is the man who contended that that Bill would not leave a constitution to be attacked from any new battery! Sir Robert and the Duke of Wellington are like the charlatans of the last century who made a business of going about foretelling the end of the world, and who, as soon as one prophecy was falsified by the existence of things, gave out another doomsday of equal horror and certainty at a few months after date. Threatened constitutions, however, seem to share in the proverbial long life of threatened men.

Some of our friends have thought the following passage in Sir Robert's city speech anti-aristocratic; but it seems to us that they have judged hastily :—

"They were not separated from the middle classes
"by any line of demarcation. If circumstances had
"elevated them above those classes, it was by the
"exercise of the qualities of diligence and inte-
"grity; and it was because they felt their interests
"identified with those of the middle classes that,
"by the blessing of God, they would keep open to

"others those avenues which had been open to "themselves. What was the charge against him- "self? *That the King had sent for the son of a* "*cotton-spinner*, that he might make him Prime "Minister of England. But that reflection did "not make him dissatisfied with the laws under "which he lived. No; *it made him anxious to re-* "*serve to the sons of other cotton-spinners the means* "*to arrive at the same distinction* to which he had "himself attained."

If Sir Robert Peel thought as little as he ought to think of sneers at his origin, he would not so often advert to his birth; for, when concealment is impossible, this is the next mode by which men, more sensitive than they should be, attempt to take the subject out of other men's mouths, by taking it into their own. The advancement of a man of humble birth to high station may be a matter of the worthiest pride, but reference must be had to the circumstances of the elevation. If we remember correctly, it is D'Alembert who remarks that the state is like a pyramid, the summit of which can only be attained by flying or creeping—by the eagle or the reptile. Sir Robert Peel, the son of a cotton-spinner, occupies a high position; but by what helps and paths did he climb to it? How much does he owe to his father's money-bags (for always be it borne in mind that he was the son of a cotton-spinner who had amassed a million of money)—how much to the bigotry to which he lent

himself—how much to his serving to the Tory aristocracy, which has always taken its hardest and harshest tools from the ranks of the people, against whose interests and liberties they were to be turned? Had Sir Robert Peel made his way to the high place he has occupied by advancing the rights of the people from whom he sprung, and quelling a domineering oligarchy, proud would be the title of the cotton-spinners's son; and, as he had won his station, he should nobly wear its honours. But such is not his history; and, at best, he can only take class with the many men of plebeian origin and good abilities whom the aristocracy have made captains in their Janissary band. As the Eastern poet says, "The arrow which pierces the eagle's side is winged with the eagle's feather."

Sir Robert Peel professes an anxiety to reserve to the sons of other cotton-spinners the means to arrive at the distinction to which he has attained. He may do that consistently with the grossest abuses in Government; for by what means did he attain a distinction within one easy step of that which he now boasts? By means of that system of corruption and pillage which the Reform Bill was intended to destroy. There was not a coigne of 'vantage in the old pile of misgovernment upon which, at some time or other, Sir Robert was not seen making his stand, and the political vices formed the very scale of his ascent. He got a step from bigotry, another from corruption, and so on; it is true that when he had

gained the height, and could perch himself a point in advance, he was ready enough to kick down the stone that had served his purpose, but each in turn gave him a footing whence he took a fresh step upwards—he was climbing while his cause and his party were losing. And these means of advancement—by the service of an aristocratic faction—he would kindly reserve for other cotton-spinners' sons—no other means can he have in view, for he cannot make a boast of his anxiety to reserve that open and honourable road to public distinction which no one proposes, or is even accused of proposing, to close up. All that he says, then, comes to this,—that he would reserve for other cotton-spinners' sons the rising passage through abuses, and the advocacy of them, by which he has mounted; but as that rising passage belonged to an oligarchical Government, the people will be well content to see the sons of successful industry left to the other, but not so easy, path that is open to public ambition in a better system.

LORD STANLEY'S DESERTION.

A FEW months ago Lord Stanley's desertion to the Tory ranks would have been an event of some importance; moderate reformers would have been

alarmed and grieved; the more bold and earnest would have been incensed; and mightily would the enemy have been elated. How different is now the effect! The one side seems to care as little for gaining as the other for losing him. Amongst reformers we have not heard a single expression of regret; the general sentiment has been, that it is well to be rid of a false friend; and the only step of Lord Stanley in the present session which has given satisfaction to the friends of the popular cause, was that which removed him from his post of mock neutrality to the Tory benches. No public man ever lost value so rapidly, and so completely, as Lord Stanley. It would be as difficult to pass him away as the bottle-imp in the German story. Parties may, however, have the comfort of knowing that he will not rest with them long, for his mind seems so constructed as to be incapable of harmonizing with any cause, or train of principles. From his post of neutrality he voted thick and thin with the Tories; but now that he is fairly seated among them, we are not without hopes of his vote in liberal majorities; for, from what we have lately seen of Lord Stanley, we should begin to reckon upon his aid when he is set openly against us. He has a knack of taking his allies in flank, and is most dangerous in a side-by-side position. One thing is certain—namely,

that his temper is at the service of his antagonists whenever they choose to provoke it. The only creature below man which is said to commit suicide when beset by enemies, is the scorpion, which, according to the vulgar notion, drives its sting into its own brain. Such is Lord Stanley's mode of self-destruction. He drives his sting into his own brain, and the peculiarity which fable has assigned to the scorpion he realizes in his political character.

THE IRISH CHURCH.

THE last attention to a feasted Esquimaux who can swallow no more is to lay him on his back, and to coil a long strip of blubber into his mouth, till it is quite filled, and then to cut off the superfluous fat close to his lips. With this full measure the Esquimaux is content, for he is not an ecclesiastical body, and his friends do not cry out that he is starved because the surplus blubber is cut off, and appropriated to some empty stomach.

The case of the Esquimaux is the case of the Irish Church: it lies supine, full of fat things,

and there is a superfluity which the Ministry is for cutting off smooth to the lips, but its champions raise a cry of spoliation and famine.

As we have before remarked, we never hear the clamour of Church Robbery without being reminded of an anecdote of Sheridan. An acquaintance, who had a son not exactly in the repute of him in Terence, of whom all men said all good things, meeting the wit, asked him, "Have you heard of my son's robbery?"—"No," replied Sheridan, "I have not heard of your son's robbery—and do pray tell me who it is that he has robbed." The cry of Church Robbery invites as ugly a question, where an establishment of one faith draws its support from the people of another.

The question at present in debate is simply whether Lazarus shall have the crumbs which fall from the table of established Dives. It is merely a question of the shaking of the table-cloth—no one proposes to give away a dish or a seat, but only just to allow morality the benefit of the broken bread. Dives pronounces this flat robbery, says that he has a maw for every morsel, and that if a crumb of his abundance be abridged, he shall be brought to beggary. And here we may observe, by the bye, that future etymologists, noting how our Dignitaries of the Church cling to riches, and delight in purple and fine linen, may easily fall into the blunder of supposing that our Divines

derived their name from Dives, and were the elect representatives of the pomps and vanities of riches.

The sinecure character of the Irish Establishment, and its gilding, have a kind of consistency, looking upon it merely as a sign—a sign of ascendancy. As we pass along the streets we see signs of golden boots and golden canisters, and such like, and they are always of a huge size, and serving no purpose of boot or canister, or whatever they represent; and so it is with a golden Priesthood. It stands out as a sign, but fulfils no purpose of the thing it represents. The Irish, who only see in it the sign of their yoke, have to pay extravagantly for the gilding, and this is the hardship.

What is proposed for the abatement of this huge abuse?—what is resisted as robbery, sacrilege, &c.? A measure just carrying the principle of justice feather-weight, and no more. The *Virginius* of Sheridan Knowles hears "a voice so fine, that nothing lives 'twixt it and silence." This is a reform so fine, that nothing lives 'twixt it and the abuse. Yet, fine as it is, small as it is, it is consecrated by the spirit of justice, and is as acceptable to the long oppressed people of Ireland as drops of water are to the parched wretch in the desert.

The fault of the pending Bill is on the side of insufficiency; it deals too tenderly with the

abuse; but its moderation has certainly served the more strongly to expose the obstinate injustice of its opponents. It has been made manifest that men who oppose a gentle palliative like this, are wilfully resolved to resist any measure having in it one particle of the substance or spirit of Reform.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

At one of the meetings in the North Mr O'Connell observed, that last year no one thought of the Reform of the House of Lords, which is now seen to be essential to good government. The backwardness of the public mind is a little exaggerated in the statement, for the question has been of growing interest for the last five years; but the Lords have indeed worked out the demonstration very rapidly, and it is a curious fact, that one of those who have been convinced of the vice of the institution by the working of it is Mr O'Connell himself. Six years ago, at a meeting of the East London Catholic Association, Mr O'Connell declared himself an admirer of the hereditary branch of the Legislature, even while avowing himself a Radical Reformer; and in some remarks which we made at the time upon this inconsistency, as it

seemed to us, we ventured to predict, that, "whenever he should apply his mind (hitherto occupied by other considerations) to the subject of "Reform, he would speedily discover that the "aristocratic and democratic are incompatible "powers, which can have no co-existence in our "State, however they may flourish together in the "fanciful page of Blackstone—that either the "Commons must be the nominees of the Lords, "or the Lords, in the end, must be forced echoes "of the voice of the Commons—that, were the "Commons to be the representatives of the popular "interests, an immediate struggle would take place "between the two Chambers of Parliament, the one "contending for the interests of the many, and the "other making its stand in defence of the abuses "profitable to the few—that as the public opinion "would come in aid of the advocates of the public "interests, the Lords, exposing their dishonest "selfishness in the contest, would sink into contempt and hatred, which they could never surmount but by showing a disposition to implicit "acquiescence in the counsels of the popular house "—that the independence of the Hereditary Assembly, then approved by Mr O'Connell, would "thus be extinguished by the very beneficial "reform, to the promotion of which he pledged "his active energies."*

This was all theory, but it has been verified by

* Examiner, March 1, 1829.

experience, and people have had that conviction of a practical kind which they so much love. Mr Sergeant Wilde indeed asserts, that *à priori* a hereditary legislative body could not be pronounced good or bad; but it seems to us that it could be as surely pronounced bad as a hereditary college of surgeons. *A priori*, we may know that children should not be trusted with edged tools; and *à priori* we may judge that a body, of which qualification for its business is not required, and which is not accountable for its conduct, is likely to make an ill use of its powers. The discovery, however, has been at last made that responsibility and irresponsibility have opposite tendencies, and cannot work together. The Lords have been the great teachers, by exercising their power without stint in the direction of their interests or their prejudices, and they have made thousands hostile to the hereditary principle, who were before implicit believers in the Constitution, with its balances described by Blackstone and De Lolme.

For ourselves, in advocating Reform of the Commons House, we were always prepared for the truth, and always admitted the truth, and rejoiced in the truth, that it must be fatal to the Hereditary Chamber. Some of our contemporaries, who now strenuously contend for the Reform of the House of Peers, yet occasionally lament that the Lords did not disguise their propensities, and by acquiescence in the decisions of the Com-

mons, avoid the exposure of the vice in the spirit and principle of the institution. This we cannot regret; for though hostile to the House of Lords as constituted, without qualification or responsibility, we are nevertheless advocates for a Second Chamber, and for an efficient Second Chamber—not for an assembly of puppets to nod assent like mandarin images to the legislation of the Commons. A House of Lords subservient to the Commons, would be a Second Chamber fulfilling none of the uses of a Second Chamber, and merely disguising the single power and unreviewed legislation of the Commons. The tendencies too of a subservient House of Lords would always be anti-popular, though under restraint; and whenever it was not an echo to the Commons it would find a small voice for petty mischief.

The conclusion is—that people who wish that the Lords may avert a Reform of their House by subduing their dispositions, and acquiescing in the councils of the Commons—such persons, we say, in effect contend for a single House of Legislation with something worse than the mockery of another.

A writer in 'Blackwood's Magazine' admits that if the Tories do not acquire new strength in the House of Commons, the Peers must ultimately give way; and a liberal member, Mr Sergeant Wilde, believes that a Reform of the House of Peers will be unnecessary, as the popular influence will be so increased by the improved Corporations

as to compel the Lords to yield. But the suppression of evil impulses is not enough, and something more is wanted than a yielding Second Chamber. Let not the people deceive themselves. If they believe that there is advantage in the review and reconsideration of measures of legislation by a Second Chamber, they must not be satisfied with a coerced and submissive House of Lords. It will not be enough that the Lords have ceased to do harm—the Second Chamber must have capacities, tendencies, and credit for good—and these things the House of Lords reduced to submission could not have. Its vice would be suppressed, but the constraint would not give origin to good motives and just views: and if ever, by any strange chance, it should venture on right grounds to oppose itself to the Commons, the discredit and suspicion attaching to it would lead to the prompt supposition that it must be in error or returning to its old ways, and divest it of the necessary public support.

The question then is, whether we are to have a second efficient Chamber, having motives to good government; and if it be answered, as we believe it generally will be, in the affirmative,* it is clear that a mere submissive House of Lords would not

* We can conceive a state of things in which a Second Chamber might not be necessary, but it is not the state of things with which we have to do. The qualification of members for the business of legislation is in inverse proportion to the number of representatives; and the number of representatives is again further detrimental to the business of legislation. In this state of things supervision is necessary, and we are not without our notions that

fulfil the purposes desired. The composition of this Assembly leaves us nothing to choose between the vice of its veto on the measures of the Commons, and the nullity of its echo.

Mr Sergeant Wilde observes, with much naïveté, that if we can only remove from the Lords all exclusive objects, we can have the most useful second branch of the Legislature that can be devised. "Let the general good of the country equally "operate upon the second body and the House of "Commons, and then there is no danger." But while the Lords are the Lords, how is this to be brought about, supposing that it were all that is necessary? The abuses which we have to sweep away have been created by the Tory Lords and their progenitors, and they are bound up, really or imaginarily (the effect in either case is the same), with their fortunes and interests. Until these abuses are corrected, the Lords will have exclusive objects, and the general good will not operate equally on them and the representatives of the people; but while the Lords can put their veto on the measures of the Commons, they will resist the abolition of these abuses; and whenever they cease to venture to put their veto on measures they regard as fraught with destruction to their own interests, they will be reduced to that abject submis-

a well-constituted Upper House would, by their example of skill, teach the people to require qualifications in their representatives which are not yet in demand;—and then the necessity of reducing the number of the Commons would be acknowledged.

sion which must render them incapable of performing the services of a Second Chamber.

Mr Sergeant Wilde would accept of the House of Lords as he would take a jury—so many men at random, without regard to qualification; but he omits to observe the important fact, that the jury of the Upper House has an interest in the cause. And when that taint is removed, the question arises whether the business of legislation can be performed, as the judgment upon facts is exercised, without any peculiar qualification. In our courts of justice we look to the judge for the highest qualifications, to the jury for nothing but impartiality: all the rest is left to accident;—and what the jury is to the judge, Mr Sergeant Wilde is content that the Lords should be to the Commons. This, at best, seems to us the analogy at the bottom of his defence of the hereditary branch of the Legislature.

We are far from denying that the Lords, unwarped by exclusive interests, would be much improved legislators; but the point is, that we cannot now divest them of their exclusive interests without subduing them to the condition of passive registrars to the Commons. Their authority and their loved abuses will go together.

Arguing as we have done, that abuse was as natural a consequence of the power held by the Lords, without qualification or responsibility, as the thorn is the growth of its tree, it has struck us that the question might be raised,—to what cause

we are to refer the existence of the Liberal minority, and the merit we attribute to its members? First, we may answer that nothing is so general and so hardy as virtue; there is no rock so bare, so barren, and ungenial, as to refuse it an existence. There are natures so robust as to resist and rise superior to the worst influences, as there are constitutions which will preserve health in regions of pestilence. Such exemptions from corrupting causes may always be reckoned upon, though not to any considerable extent; but the effect in question is referable in part to circumstances exclusive of the temptations. It is to be remembered that for the half century during which, with short interruptions, the Tories held power, and while abuses were in the richest cultivation, the Whig Aristocracy were in opposition and out of the pale of corruption. They had no part in the reign of the worst profligacy; they had no interest in the malversation, or in the system of misrule which was made to serve to it. Hence we find them now uninfected with the Tory prejudices in favour of everything bearing the shape of an abuse or an oppression, and they are ready to redress the grievances they have seen inflicted by the Tory oligarchy, but not equally prepared for organic reforms, which would give the people the full power of self-protection. The Whigs have not to answer for the corrupt uses which have been made of the governing powers within the last fifty years; the Whigs do not dread

and hate the people as the Tories, and all other men dread and hate those whom they have injured; but yet the Whigs have not the confidence in the people which they might wisely repose in them.

RE-CONSTITUTION OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

In the present constitution of the House of Lords qualification is unprovided for, and responsibility wholly wanting. To these deficiencies all the vices in the institution are to be referred. The Peer may be ignorant, imbecile, in every way incapable, but the Lord's a Lord for a' that, and the legislative authority which he possesses by the accident of birth cannot be withdrawn from him, however mischievously it may be abused. The power so held invites its possessors to prefer their own narrow interest to all others, and to disregard the demands and the judgments of society.

The principles upon which a reform of the Upper House must be founded are the principles which are now wanting in its constitution—qualification and responsibility. Some character for ability and integrity must be made necessary to the possession of legislative authority; and the

exercise of it in the direction of the public benefit must be ensured by responsibility to bodies whose interests are identical with the public interests.

It is clear that the prerogative of creation, which was once the fancied resource against disorders in the Peerage, could only accomplish one of these objects, which is of little virtue without the other. The Crown might make choice of men qualified for legislation, and raise them to the Peerage; but, without responsibility, the new members would soon contract the spirit of the order, the jealousies and narrow views of a caste. This result has been witnessed wherever the experiment has been tried. As Horace says, "The vessel must be pure, or all thrown into it will be tainted." To appoint capable men is only a first step; the more important business is to provide influences which may keep them in the path of duty, or terminate their authority if they decline from it.

An expedient suggested by some, who agree hat it is impossible to carry on good government with the existing House of Lords, but who, without sufficient regard to efficiency, think the smallest change the best, is to reduce the number of Peers of Parliament, and to make the House of Lords elective out of the Peerage generally, as the Scotch and Irish Peers are now chosen for their respective portions of the Union. This plan has nothing to recommend it. The prejudices and

exclusive interests of the whole Peerage would be rendered in an essence in the elect assembly, from which even the Liberal minority now existing would be wholly shut out. But it may be observed, that in order to carry any measure of Reform through the House of Peers, a very large creation will be necessary, and that the same majority of Liberal Peers which carries the Reform Bill will be the majority of the constituent body for the election of the Reformed House. The objection to this is the same as the objection to relying only upon a creation for the improvement of the House, namely, that the new Peers, possessed of their privileges for life, become infected with the faults of the caste. The electors' control would want all the virtue of popular control, which is the identity of the electoral with the public interests. There is a circumstance incidental to this plan which may be worth mentioning, that a minority would be altogether excluded. The party having the majority in the constituency would return the whole House; and the Crown would, in fact, always have the power of composing the House of any party, by throwing new Peers (new electors) into the constituent body.

The next plan which we have to consider has been suggested by Mr O'Connell, and though not the best that might be conceived for an Utopia, it is in our opinion the best that can be proposed with

any prospect of success in the present state of things.

Mr O'Connell's suggestion is, that the House of Lords, reduced to a hundred or a hundred-and-fifty members, should be elected from the Peerage at certain periods, by large bodies of the people. There would be no more innovation in this plan than would be necessary to the introduction of the two essential principles—qualification and responsibility. The eligibility of the Peers would be the privilege of the order, and it might be hereditary without any disadvantage to the public; for it must be borne in mind that the large creation which would be necessary to pass a Reform Bill through the House of Lords, would so increase the Peerage, leavened with a liberal majority, that there could hardly fail to be a sufficient number of good and fit men among the number for the choice of the electoral bodies, and there would be no occasion to have recourse to the Peers eligible by birth, unless they also happened to be qualified by worth and ability for the legislative trust. In this case it is to be observed that the newly-created Peers would not be liable to the oligarchical infection upon which we have reckoned in other circumstances involving irresponsibility, for the newly-created Peer, in the system we are now imagining, would always feel that his possession of the legislative authority must depend on his possession of the public esteem and confidence. He would know that to acquire or to

retain his seat in the legislature, he must acquire or retain the good opinion of his fellow-countrymen. In the first trial of a House of Lords reformed upon the suggested principles, the majority of new Peers would have their liberal dispositions fortified by their popular responsibilities; and to them, thus kept firm, and the few long-tried friends of the popular cause in the existing Peerage, new generations in fairer circumstances would afford new allies; the old Oligarchical faction we may give up as incurable, but their successors, eligible by birth, would feel the force of motives which have hitherto had the faintest influence upon their order—they would find themselves just so distinguished, that their attaining or failing of another eminence would be conspicuous; and they would know that the coveted station of authority was to be won by giving earnest of the qualities and acquirements, which would render the exercise of the power beneficial to those who have the bestowal of it. We have not a doubt that the hereditary nobility would be raised in worth and in consideration by these motives to exertion, and to cultivating the good opinion of their fellow-subjects. Whenever their desire to excel is called forth, we see no deficiency in them; and if the esteem and confidence of the people were made as much a pursuit as a stinking fox's brush, sure we are that we should have no reason to complain of the indolence and backwardness of the aristocracy. "Wisdom comes by opportunity of

leisure," but the leisure may be given, for want of motives, not to wisdom but to ease or dissipation; and the disadvantage of fortune by inheritance is its temptation to indolence and vicious indulgences, and that temptation is inordinately strengthened by the secure possession of political consequence without exertion. To take away the hereditary legislative authority, substituting eligibility, would remove the bane of our spoiled children of fortune and power.

Considering the still lingering aristocratic affections of the people of this country, it will be agreed that if the services of a responsible Upper House can be had from aristocratic materials, it will be desirable, as facilitating the change which the factious Lords are making so urgently and immediately necessary. The English are averse to abrupt and sweeping innovations; and the present question is with how little change we can have such good government as the country demands, and not with how much change we could have an institution adapted to a perfect state of intelligence.

We would not now enter into discussion of the term for which the Peers of Parliament should be elected (whether it should be the same as that of the Commons, or shorter,) or of the electoral qualification, though we may observe by the way as to the latter, that as the eligibility would be very narrow, the franchise could be very low without being liable to the objections commonly urged

against a low franchise. Our present object is only to work out the general principles of the project, and not to encumber the consideration of them with details.

Before we conclude, however, it may be as well to add that the prerogative of creation would be continued in the Crown without any chance of evil or inconvenience, as it would merely confer an eligibility; and as the constituent bodies would not choose any whom they deemed unworthy, the extension of the Peerage, or eligible order, by the prerogative would be an advantage rather than otherwise, especially as the popular control would keep the main body of the Peers elected, or hoping for election, from declining from the principles that recommended them to the people.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW ON THE QUESTION OF PEERAGE REFORM.

THE objections of a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* to some plans for reform that have been suggested, are stated in the passage we quote, in which difficulties are cleared as fences are cleared in hunting—by a flying leap:—

"It being perfectly manifest that a second "House, something in the nature of a House of

" Lords, is necessary for sound and safe legislation,
" the only question is, how it shall be composed—
" and first of all, shall it be elective or hereditary?
" or if hereditary, shall the members sit by indivi-
" dual right, as they now do, or by election among
" and by the nobility, as the French nobles did in
" their States-General? Let us begin with the
" last plain and most obvious change. Would it
" avail us anything in remedy of the present evil?
" Certainly it would have the directly opposite
" effect—for if all the members of the House of
" Lords were chosen by the Peers as a body, or
" even divided into any conceivable chambers of
" election, instead of two-thirds, or it may be three-
" fourths, anti-Reformers, we should not have a
" single member of the House a reformer. The
" Scottish Peers are an example of this, of whom
" sixteen-sixteenths are Tories. Then, shall the
" Crown select Peers among the nobility as in
" France? The consequences would be the same,
" with this addition, that the Upper House would
" be the mere creature of the Crown. The only
" other course then is to have the House elected,
" but not by the Peers—in other words, that the
" people shall elect. Are they to elect by the
" same qualification by which they choose their
" own representatives? *If so—the Upper House*
" *will be a mere duplicate of the Lower;* and after
" all difficulties are overcome as to how a local ap-
" portionment of the elected shall be made, we

"shall only have obtained what would be more "easily and just as effectually obtained by dividing "the House of Commons into two, and making "one half revise the proceedings of the other. "But we hold it to be quite clear that more than "a mere duplicate chamber is necessary in order "to ensure an effectual revision. Such a duplicate "will, in most cases, only repeat the same errors "which the first has committed. That which se- "cures discussion, and gives the probability of real "revision and correction, is the second chamber "being differently constituted from the first. "Therefore many have suggested, what is indeed "the American plan, that the elective franchise "should be higher; and, consequently, that the "second chamber should represent a class of indi- "viduals different from those who choose the first. "Suppose, then, that only persons of 500*l.* a year "or upwards were to elect among the Peers—or "there being no distinction in favour of Peers, "suppose they were to choose among all classes "indiscriminately—what would be the result? "We are by no means certain that a better cham- "ber than the present House of Lords would not "be found; but we are very sure that it would be "quite as hostile to liberal principles; indeed it "would probably be more hostile—for the wealthier "classes would by no means return as many liberal "Peers as now sit by right in the Upper House. "The new and elective House might be in some

"respects better: it would be more diligent, and "it would lend itself to fewer jobs—because it "would be accountable for its votes to a body of "constituents. But, as these constituents would "assuredly be very generally adverse to reform, "we can have little doubt how the decisions in "general would turn. Then be it borne in mind, "that whatever extends the basis on which the "House rests, arms the Peers with new power, "and confirms their courage to resist the proposi-"tions of the Commons and of the people; so that "even the present House of Lords would be far "more domineering when it owed its existence to "the voice of a large portion of its countrymen "than it now is, without any title but that of in-"heritance or creation."

The Reviewer objects that if the people were to elect the Peers of Parliament by the same qualification by which they choose their own representatives, the Upper House would be a mere *duplicate* of the Lower. In what sense does he use the word *duplicate?* If by a duplicate he means a body having the same interests, the same great objects, the same general views and dispositions, as the faithful trustees of the nation—if this be the meaning, the duplicate is precisely what is wanted. The Edinburgh Reviewer would surely not contend that the Upper House should have interests and objects at variance with the public interests and objects; or that its views and dispositions should

be opposed to those of the trusted friends of the people. But if by a duplicate he means to say that the House of Peers, as elected by the people, would be composed of the same classes as the majority of the Commons, the answer is, that whatever peculiarity there is in the condition of a Peer would belong to the members of the elected Upper House, as none but Peers would be eligible to it.

The Reviewer will, we suppose, admit that the best Peers would be elected by the people; and if the effect of excluding the less worthy from legislative authority would be to make the Upper House a duplicate of the Lower, let us be informed what there is of value in the present composition of the House of Lords, which keeps it from being a duplicate of the other House? In familiar terms, if to take the cream of the House would render it a duplicate to the Commons—what is the worth of it when it is not such a duplicate? Why, according to the Reviewer, the peculiar virtue in it, when not a duplicate of the Commons, consists in the preponderance of those prejudiced and factious members, whom the people would reject, as opposed to their interests. From the idea of a House of Lords composed of such men as Lord Durham, Lord Melbourne, Lord Mulgrave, the Marquis of Westminster, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Holland, and — we may surely add — Lord Brougham, the Reviewer would shrink with horror as "*duplicate*" of the Commons; but he is content

with a House in which such men are overwhelmed by the Newcastles, Winchilseas, Rodens, and the like; for to their predominance it is owing that the hereditary legislature, born of the old corruption, is not "*duplicate*" of the Commons.

The Reviewer having in one sentence taken fright at the notion of the election of the House of Peers by the people, as such a constitution would render it "a mere duplicate" of the other House, presently after takes fright also at his own suggestion of an Upper House chosen by a wealthy constituency, because, forsooth, instead of being "a mere duplicate," the Peers would, by such a constitution, be armed with new power, and more domineering than the present House. And, undoubtedly, the effect of rendering the House of Lords elective would be to raise it in authority, and the more popular the basis of the electoral system, the greater would be the increase of its power—the broader its foundations in the public respect and confidence, but proportionately great would be its responsibilities binding it to public duty.

We agree that an electoral body of a high property qualification would give a bad Upper House; but why, then, propose an electoral body of a high property qualification? No reasonable being can desire to separate the interests of the Lords from the interests of the people, and the only effect of making the Lords representative of

large bodies of the people would be to make them representative of common instead of narrow interests. Those Peers would be chosen whose opinions were generally thought accordant with the popular interests.

Whimsically enough, the Reviewer, who objects to making the House of Peers representative, on the ground that it would be thus reduced to a mere duplicate of the Commons, places his special trust in public opinion as the power that is to control the Lords, and compel them to acquiesce in the measures of the Commons. Now, what is an electoral system but the machinery for obtaining public opinion? But those who spurn the notion of affecting the Lords with the influence of public opinion by a steady responsibility, will yet place their first and last resource in irregular tempests of public opinion, which are to sweep away all opposition. They are, in fact, for submitting the Lords to public opinion with this condition only, that the Lords must not feel its force till it amounts to a hurricane. Mr Grote observes, in a masterly tract on Parliamentary Reform, to which we have often referred, "Is it not strangely inconsistent "to extol the opinion of the majority when col- "lected under every possible disadvantage and "defect, and to decry and ridicule it when trans- "cribed in full, when accurately computed, and "demanded and delivered with such a degree of "solemnity as to ensure the most mature delibe-

" ration of which each individual is capable? " Shall we hear it maintained that the desultory " buzz of public opinion, the irregular show of " hands, will be in favour of truth and reason; and " that when a day is named, and the solitary fore- " warned and considerate judgment of each indi- " vidual is computed at a poll, this decision will be " reversed?"

Shall we also hear it maintained that the desultory buzz of public opinion should overrule the Peers of Parliament, but that it would be mischievous to affect the same men with the more certain knowledge and the more steady operation of public opinion by responsibility to large bodies of the people? The sense of the public is ascertained with wondrous distinctness by those who have an immediate interest in learning it. Responsibility is a mighty conductor of sound, and makes the most powerful ear-trumpet.

It is to be observed, that all the arguments against Reform of the Upper House come to this same conclusion, that the Lords are to be subdued by public opinion; public opinion is at last to make their body the mere duplicate of the Commons, but would it not be more wise and just to bring them into harmony with opinion by the representative machinery, than to leave them to run a course of error injurious to society, which is only to be checked and corrected by some tempest of public wrath?

In the worst despotisms public opinion is not without its restraining influence; but in free, well-governed nations the difference is, that it has legitimate channels for a steady and unequivocal expression.

It is curious that the present question as to the House of Peers is strictly analogous to the question disposed of as to the late Tory Ministry. We were told that they would succumb to public opinion, and would not dare to attempt any mischief; but the question asked, and never answered, was, what disposition or vocation they could have to any good work? The people saw that it was not enough to hold a mad Government in a straight waistcoat, but that they had a right to the active services of willing hands. So, in the Lords, we require a legislative assembly with dispositions and motives to promote the interests of the people, instead of a body with propensities to mischief, which are only to be restrained in cases of extreme injury, by proportionate explosions of public indignation.

The Edinburgh Reviewer admits the misconduct of the Lords (though he vamps up a defence of them in several culpable instances), and deplores their infatuation; but the remedies to which he looks, in preference to organic change, are, first, the effect of a greater popular majority in the House of Commons; and should that fail, his last trust is in a Free Conference, in which the two

Houses, upon occasion of differences, would vote together.

As to the first expectation, we ask why the Reviewer should object to the popular election of the Lords, on the ground that it would make the Upper House a mere duplicate of the Lower, while his great hope is, that a powerful majority in the Lower House will reduce the Upper to submission! In what respect then is a forced submission better than a concord, or the *duplicate* abhorred by the Reviewer? Is there any kind of good in compelling men to act against their will? —Is it better to have a House of Lords awed into acquiescence with the Commons, than one agreeing with the Commons, because having the same general views and responsibilities? We ask these questions, assuming for a moment that the Reviewer has reason to suppose that the Lords would be overawed by a large popular majority in the Commons; but, desirable as it is, for many reasons, that there should be such a majority, it would but faintly and irregularly influence the decisions of the factious or infatuated Lords.

As for the other resource of the Reviewer—the vote in a Free Conference—it is the most preposterous crotchet that ever was entertained by an intelligent man. As an expedient for swamping the Commons, indeed, nothing more effectual could be conceived. The present Tory majority in the Peers, added to a minority in the Com-

mons smaller than the existing minority, would outnumber the Liberals in the two Houses. And a Tory Ministry, by creating Peers, could always command the majority in a Free Conference. A Liberal Ministry, it may be answered, could do the same; but in that case, as the Reviewer himself objects, the House of Lords would be the mere creature of the Crown, and, upon changes, each new Administration would be under the necessity of overtopping the majority of its predecessors. The House so run up would soon tumble to the ground, even if the people could meanwhile endure to see their representatives borne down by a mob of Lords. But such an expedient is so palpably absurd, that to comment upon it would be an inexcusable waste of words, were it not for the quarter whence the recommendation proceeds.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S DECLARATION AGAINST REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord John Russell has seized occasion to declare against the reform of the House of Lords. Any Ministerial interference in the question was to be deprecated as impolitic and unnecessary,

but Lord John has taken up the gauntlet, in reply to an address from some Devonshire friends:—

"In common with the rest of his Majesty's "Ministers, I have endeavoured to prove my "attachment to the cause of civil and religious "liberty, not by words only, but by acts. The "principal measures which we have proposed "during the short period which has elapsed since "Lord Melbourne and his colleagues have been "recalled to power, were calculated, in our "opinion, to strengthen the bonds of union be-"tween different parts of the empire; to solve "perplexing difficulties, to secure the participa-"tion of the people in the benefit of institutions "intended for their use; to promote freedom, "order, morality, and religion.

"Some of these measures, after receiving the "sanction of the House of Commons, have been "defeated by the resistance of another branch of "the Legislature. They exercised their un-"doubted privilege, whether wisely or no it is "for you, and not for me, to determine. I may, "however, be permitted to observe, that *the same* "*party which prompted and led this resistance,* "*have been opposed to every liberal measure* "*which has been proposed for the last seven years,* "and that, upon all the most important of those "measures, their resistance has ended in a con-"fession that the struggle was hopeless, and that,

" though darkness was still to be desired, light was " no longer to be excluded.

" This inherent weakness of their cause has " appeared, even in the present year, upon the " Bill for the regulation of Municipal Corporations. " The denunciation of robbery, the imputation of " calumny,—the cry of revolution, however loudly " uttered, and valiantly sustained, have all ended " in a concession of five-sixths of the main pro- " visions of that Bill. For the remainder, likewise, " we are not precluded, as you justly observe, from " proposing such alterations as experience may " require.

" Fortified, therefore, by past victories, relying " firmly on future progress, *I earnestly recom-* " *mend you to look for the triumph of further* " *measures of Reform, rather to the effect of* " *public opinion, enlightened and matured by* " *knowledge and discussion, than to organic* " *changes,* which cannot be proposed without " causing division, nor carried without risk of con- " vulsion, and which, even if carried, would be " of very dubious benefit indeed to the popular " cause, but *of unquestionable danger to the Mo-* " *narchy.*

" For my own part, in my address to you " upon taking office, I declared my resolution " with respect to such fundamental alterations. " To the great landmarks of our liberties I must " steadily adhere; of the principles which per-

" vade our primitive institutions, I am an ardent " admirer; to the constitution of the country, in " all its branches, I stand pledged by feeling, by " opinion, and by duty."

Now let us for one moment suppose that the opinions held by Lord John Russell were generally entertained, or generally adopted upon his authority,—and what would be the effect? Let us assume that the people, to a man, were resolved to suffer any ills of misgovernment rather than reform the House of Peers. Let us suppose the public voice, after arraigning and condemning the conduct of the Lords, to give judgment of impunity—to declare in effect, " We have had " woful experience of your perverse and injurious " use of your power; but be assured that no mis- " chiefs you have worked, or may hereafter work, " shall induce us to change the constitution of your " House, and you may be quite secure of retaining " the authority you abuse. We shall hope that " the hereditary branch of the Legislature may " improve, but if it should not improve, its " members may be certain of this, that we will not " attempt to improve it."

Such is the purport of Lord John Russell's declaration, and we put the soundness of his judgment to the test of this inquiry—what would be the effect of it, if it were adopted unanimously by the people? We have seen what the conduct of the Peers has been, even when they dreaded

coming to extremities with the people; but what would they have to apprehend, when assured that, however they might abuse their authority, it was immutable? "Who knows not," says a great orator of antiquity, "that the hope of impunity is the greatest temptation to crime?" Lord John Russell would seem to know it not, for he would give the factious majority of the Peers more than the hope—the certainty of impunity. They now possess power without qualification or responsibility; the only hold upon them has been the vague fear of provoking change; and if immutability were added to present irresponsibility, consummate indeed would the despotism be.

Lord John Russell observes, that the opposition of the Lords to measures of improvement has hitherto been conquered; but what but the apprehension of provoking the people to pull down their House, and to re-construct another on other principles, has induced them to yield? Take away this fear, and public opinion has no awe, no terrors, for it cannot try conclusions with the Lords. The public may suffer extreme wrongs, but composed of John Russells, it would abjure the last remedy. To make a Pandemonium on earth, it is only necessary for the country to adopt the advice of Lord John Russell, and to assure the Peers that they may do as they please, without peril to their authority, as the people will not have recourse to organic change.

And here we must observe that the assertion

of his Lordship, that organic change in the Upper House would be of unquestionable danger to the Monarchy, is unsupported by any show of reason. The same objection was made with more speciousness against the reform of the Commons' House. It is an injustice to the Monarchy to describe it as bound up in common cause with the hereditary branch of the Legislature. The hereditary principle in the Monarchy is in no discredit—the hereditary principle in the Monarchy is guarded against the objections that attach to the hereditary principle in the Upper House. For every exercise of the King's authority there is a responsibility—his Ministers are removable if they appear incapable or unworthy of power; but for the uses which the hereditary Peers of Parliament make of their power there is no responsibility. The hereditary authority of the Monarch is under checks from which the Peers are free; they are the great, the sole IRRESPONSIBLES, and the effect of their irresponsibility has brought their hereditary authority into a discredit which does not in any degree attach to the responsible powers of the Crown. The prudent friends of the Monarchy, instead of making common cause between it and the hereditary Legislature, will rather show that it rests on the very ground which is wanting to the other—responsibility.

By declaring that organic change in the constitution of the Upper House would be of unquestionable danger to the Monarchy, Lord John

Russell has precluded himself from becoming a Reformer of the House of Lords, under any circumstances of necessity that may occur; but of this we are confident, that the most certain and rapid way of convincing even his colleagues that government cannot be carried on for the benefit of the people without a change in the House of Lords, would be the general adoption of the very advice which Lord John gives the people, namely, to cease to think of organic reform of the Upper House. We are very sure that, if the people and the press were to appear to abjure organic change, and to give the Lords their way, merely praying that Heaven may give them grace, wisdom, and understanding, Ministers, before four months are out, would find the Peers so rampant in wrong as to make the existence of a government, on the principles of the present Ministry, impossible. The impressive warnings which Lord Melbourne addressed to the House last year could not in such case be repeated; for what would their Lordships have to apprehend after the public, at the recommendation of Lord John Russell, had resolved not to disturb their authority, however it might be abused?

But we are told to reckon on the force of public opinion for the improvement of the Lords—taking away from public opinion, at the same time, the option of that organic change which has hitherto had some restraining terrors for the Lords. Just

as well might we disband our police, shut up our Courts of Justice, take the locks and bars from our doors, and trust to public opinion, rather than to the power of the law for the prevention of crime and the reformation of wrong-doers. In a new state of society it would be rather hazardous to trust to opinion, and to dispense with the checks to wrong; but, when we have old offenders to deal with, it seems an especial folly indeed to place all reliance on what we may term the o'fie sanction. Public opinion is not of yesterday's birth; we have ample experience of the little effect of public opinion on the Lords, even when it has menaced them with the reformation which alone they dread; and is public opinion to be of more potency when it is ruled that execution is not to wait upon judgment—that the public will condemn but not punish; in a word, that impunity is granted to wrong, and that the authority, abused and made an instrument of injury to the community, is to be undisturbed and immutable?

Lord John Russell seems in the habit of relying too much upon spontaneous improvement, or altered effects from unaltered causes. In his argument against the Ballot, the conclusion was, in like manner, built upon the hope that men would become ashamed of intimidation. This is like the "brilliant thought" of Sir Abel Handy, when his house is in flames, that, "perhaps the fire may go out of itself."

MR O'CONNELL'S PLAN FOR THE REFORM OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS.

In a letter addressed to the *Leeds Times*, Mr O'Connell has stated his plan for the Reform of the House of Lords. It will be seen that his views upon the main points coincide with those which we have taken, though, until the appearance of the exposition now before us, all we knew of Mr O'Connell's project was, that he proposed to reconstitute the House of Peers on the basis of popular election. And satisfactory it is to observe, that the necessary consequence of the adoption of the principle is so much of agreement in the working of it out: the base given, the same structure is raised upon it, with a view to the same advantages.

We now re-publish Mr O'Connell's plan, in which some arrangements of detail are included that have not before been proposed, and which, however intrinsically judicious, will, we fear, encumber the larger and more important principles, and divide and distract the attention that should be fixed solely on them:—

"First—I take the English Peerage, and I find they amount altogether to 421; there are 12 Peeresses whose sons will be

Peers, total 433. The Irish Peers, the greater part of whom never saw Ireland, are 202; of these no less than 72 are included in the English Peerage, leaving 130 Irish Peers to be added to the 433 English, total 563; add for Scotland 57, not being English Peers; the total of the existing Peers will thus amount to 620 persons. I reckon the Irish and Scotch Peers as well as the English, for they certainly should be put on a footing of perfect equality, else the Union is a mockery to them. In order to carry the Bill for the Reform of the House of Lords, it would be necessary to create a new batch of Peers, and it would be wise in that case to create a large number, suppose 180, so as to render the success of the Bill quite certain; it would be useful in another point of view to have a great addition to the present Peerage, because there would be this important advantage, that the number of persons eligible to sit in the Upper House of Parliament being so much greater, the people would have a large range for selection. Taking, then, the present Peers at 620, and adding 180, you would have 800 Peers altogether. I propose that the House of Lords should in future consist of 150 only—that these 150 should be elected by the people, out of the 800. The 800 Peers would be the sole persons eligible. The electors I propose to be the people at large. For that purpose I propose that Great Britain and Ireland should be divided into 150 districts, as nearly equal in point of population as possible. Each district to elect one Peer. Every householder to be an elector; and, for my part, I should most anxiously desire that the electors should have the protection of voting by ballot. It is included in my plan. It seems to me that, as the number of the eligible would be limited, the electors ought to be as numerous as possible. I propose that the number of Peers should never be less than 500. I do not propose in any way to restrict the Royal prerogative of creating Peers. The more Peers the King may create, the greater would be the opportunity afforded for the people of making a good choice. I propose that the legislative body of the Peers should be elected for five years; one-fifth to go out annually, with the full capacity of being re-elected. This plan would leave the prerogative of the Crown untouched. The King would have the power to create as many Peers as he pleased. The only

limitation would be in the opposite sense. There should be always 500 Peers—there are now 620. This, then, is the summary of my plan: let the House of Lords for legislation be reduced to 150. There seldom attend so many, except for bad purposes. Let the selection of 150 be given in districts, which may, with the utmost facility, be framed for that purpose. My plan would include household suffrage and vote by ballot. I look forward to the enactment of triennial election for the members of the House of Commons. The simultaneous election of that House no person proposes to disturb, but the situation of the legislators in the Lords should, I think, be for four years—removed annually in the proportion of one-fifth. Thus, therefore, * * * * I propose a House of Lords—and a House of nothing but Lords; an assembly of Barons, and nothing but Barons. I do not alter the Constitution, as it is called, one particle. The only change I propose is within the principle and the practice of the Constitution—a principle twice sanctioned by legislative enactment—consecrated by two of the most important Acts of Parliament in the statute-book, and made the bond of union between the three separate kingdoms of which the empire is composed. That principle worked out into practice is the selection of a portion of the Peerage, and their separation from the rest, for the purpose of legislation. Thus, by the Act of Union with Scotland, the right of legislation was taken away from the Scotch Peers generally; and out of about 154 Peers—which composed, as I recollect, the Scotch Peerage at the Union—only 16 were to be selected, and the right of legislation preserved to the selected 16. The rest of the Scotch Peers were placed in the self-same predicament in which my plan would place the English Peers beyond the 150 who are to have the power to legislate. Thus, again, by the Act of Union with Ireland, the right of legislation was taken away from the Irish Peers generally, and out of above 150 Peers only 28 were to be selected, and the right of legislation reserved to the selected 28. In each law of union the principle of exclusion of the many and of selection of a few of the Peers of each country, was established and worked out, but, in point of practice, was worked out with a strong and

striking difference. The 16 Scotch Peers were and are selected for each Parliament only—each of the 28 Irish Peers is selected for his life. The principle of exclusion and selection was the same in both cases—the mode of working out that principle was essentially different. Now that is precisely what is proposed—to adopt the principle of exclusion of the many and of the selection of a chosen few—the mode of that selection to be different. Experience has shown that the mode of selection by the Peers themselves is the very worst imaginable. Let us adopt the principle, but work it out with the improved machinery of popular suffrage, protected from intimidation, coercion, and corruption, by the ballot. Shall it be said that the exclusion of several of the Peers from the right to legislate is a robbery, a spoliation of their vested rights, their existing privileges? To which I reply, the Union with Scotland, and, above all, the Union with Ireland; and * * * * * * * * is the latter founded on spoliation and robbery? * * * give me any fair answer to that question, and I will find in it at once either the principle of Repeal, or the principle of Reform of the Lords. By my plan, the unelected English Peers would be precisely in the situation in which the unelected Scottish Peers have been for more than a century—in a situation identical in essence with that of the unelected Irish Peers, but in many particulars superior. In short, the state of the unelected English Peers would be a known, a familiar 'status' of the Peerage—one created by most important statutes, and already existing around us at every side. I propose no innovation, no material change in the Peerage. I would merely introduce into the Peerage of England what has been already introduced into the Peerage of Scotland and Ireland. The only alteration I propose is in the detail of selection; and I do think that every rational man will allow that the election by the people at large is infinitely superior to the mode of election by the Peers themselves.

"In conclusion, let it be always recollected, that the plan which I announce and submit for revision and correction, whilst it offers a security against despotism, by making all legislative power subject to responsibility, still builds its fabric on the principles and upon the practice of the law and the constitution. Our legisla-

ture will still be composed of King, Lords, and Commons—no innovation is proposed, save as far as every amendment innovates —no new principle is brought forward—no new practice suggested. The details may—nay, must be improved; but neither is the principle or the practice new. We will not want to add as much as one word to our Parliamentary vocabulary. The adjunct 'representative' has long been attached to the word 'Peer'. A 'representative Peer' is not only a familiar expression, but it is actually a legal and technical description.—There are Peers and 'representative Peers' in Scotland—there are Peers and 'representative Peers' in Ireland—there can be, ay, there will be, Peers and 'representative Peers' in England.

"Reformers of Great Britain, I submit my plan to you—do not be deceived or apathetic. You have but done half your work in reforming the House of Commons. It is indeed what the Irish children call the *smallest half*. The reform there requires amendment, but you can have no right to expect the improvement wanted there—or the reform of the law, or any other beneficial measure, justly or fairly treated, until you succeed in the Reform of the Lords.

"One topic more, and I conclude this epistle. Upon the fullest consideration, I declare my conviction of the utility of *Two* Chambers for legislation. In the first place, there are in existence Two Chambers, and I would not change more than is absolutely necessary to be changed. But, secondly, a Second Chamber diminishes exceedingly, if it do not altogether take away the danger of legislating from impulse, passion, or party. Even a second House of Commons would afford this advantage—a Reformed House of Lords may, I think, be so arranged as to be preferable. I speak of this topic because it is already held out as a ground for division. But we cannot divide on this subject if we recollect that a Reform of the House of Lords, not its abolition, is our object. A very able man—a man of great moral courage and of most valuable energy—a man destined, in my opinion, to do much and great good if he will regulate his impulses and prefer practical utility to theoretic perfection—I mean Mr Roebuck—has already advocated legislation by a Single Chamber. I am sorry for it, as it is one of the accidents of which the oligarchical faction will avail them-

selves. However, the increase of obstacle is only a reason for increase of exertion. Let, therefore, the Reformers of England, of Scotland, and of Ireland, rally for the practical measure of Reform of the Lords; and, leaving new theories to their own demerits, let us cordially, zealously, and above all, perseveringly, set about constructing the machinery of good government, with the aid of all that is serviceable, valuable, and useful of the old materials."

We readily avow that, in our opinion, Mr O'Connell underrates the extent of innovation in the plan proposed. We believe that the innovation is just as much as necessary, and no more than is necessary, to the constitution of a Second Chamber having opinions and dispositions in harmony with the interests and feelings of the people; but we cannot concur with Mr O'Connell in the assertion that, in proposing the election of Peers of Parliament by the people, no new principle is brought forward, and no new practice suggested. We should do a great injustice to the virtue of popular election if we pretended to argue that it was in principle the same as self-election. Between the Scotch and Irish Representative Peers, and the proposed system of a House of Lords elected by the people, there is only as much likeness as between Monmouth and Macedon, with a river in both: there are election and representation in both, but election and representation upon very different grounds, and with very different objects and effects. The principle of self-election, or the election of a representative by small privileged bodies, is as distinct from popular election as the principle of

oligarchy is from democracy. All our organic reforms, effected and proposed, are delusive, if responsibility to the many, instead of to the few, be not a very considerable change.

To attempt to make our adversaries the dupes of words would be idle, and the representative Peers of Scotland and Ireland are about as much akin in principle to the proposed representative Peers of the people, as a horse chesnut proverbially is to a chesnut horse.

Do not let us attempt to deceive friends or foes as to the extent of the change proposed—let its magnitude be fairly admitted, and the fitness of it measured by the exigency, and it will be found that the innovation is no more than is barely requisite for good government.

An important consideration, which Mr O'Connell has not touched upon, is the improvement of the Peers, which would be the consequence of the new motives to exertion that the proposed Reform of the House would create. When the legislative authority, and with it all the objects of political ambition, depend upon the esteem and confidence of the people, the privileged classes will have their energies called forth, their dispositions trained in new directions, and their characters as much re-formed to the genius of the times as their legislative institution.

Mr Fox, the Editor of *The Monthly Repository*, whom we regret to say we cannot number

among the supporters of an elective House of Peers, objects that the difference created between one Peer and another (all being eligible, and a small number elected) would probably be more offensive than a general change in the functions of the whole. We think that this is a hasty opinion, for if it be admitted, as we are sure it must, that the Upper House would be raised in credit and authority by its popular basis, an importance would be reflected upon Peers who were not members, but eligible to such body.

Mr Fox prefers the project for nullifying the Second Chamber by reducing its veto on a bill that has passed the Commons to a single exercise; so that if, after having been thrown out by the Lords, it should again be adopted by the Commons, it would become law without the assent of the other House.

Better than this would be the entire abolition of the House of Lords—for what good purpose of a Second Chamber would it effect, its composition, constitution, and with them its character, remaining unchanged? All that it would do would be mischief for its term of power of delay. If it would have any other effect, it would be to mask the power engrossed by the House of Commons; and as we hold that all political powers should be undisguised, we should prefer a Single Chamber to the mere mockery of a Second Chamber.

In our state of things a Second Chamber, so

constituted as to acquire the respect and confidence of the country, is necessary; and as we have repeatedly stated, amongst the advantages of a reform advancing us towards the possession of such an institution, we number the incidental improvement of the material, the Aristocracy itself. To us this appears a very great object, for though we believe, with Tocqueville, that the tide of things is steadily rolling to Democracy, yet for many more years than any of us can look forward to, the Aristocracy will take a considerable part in the conduct of affairs; and surely it is most desirable to give an improved impulse to a class of men whose bias for good or ill must be sensibly felt in the government of the country.

Those, however, who propose the expedient of passing by the Upper House after one exercise of the veto, would leave the Lords what they are in character, and would supply no new motives to make them more considerate and more studious of the interests and feelings of society.

TORY ATTACKS ON MR O'CONNELL.

THE last hope of the Tories is in the foibles of the people; if they find unworthiness in the people, they may hope again to govern them; hence they

are making an experiment on national jealousies and prejudices, in their attacks on Mr O'Connell. The result remains to be seen, but as yet our adversaries have encountered little magnanimity to daunt or disconcert them.

Shall it be said that English justice does not extend to Ireland? We trust not; but yet it is certain that, had an Englishman of half the merits and twice the faults of Mr O'Connell been assailed as O'Connell has been assailed for the last twelvemonth, a feeling would have been called forth which would have made the persecution recoil heavily upon its authors. The best part of the English character is the love of fair play, the abhorrence of every thing like a "dead set," or an attempt to run down a man by abuse and clamour. For example, if every Whig and Radical press, and every Whig and Radical orator, had made Sir Robert Peel's character the subject of incessant invective, the most generous members of both parties would have revolted against such malignant practice, and would have been disposed to look even with indulgence upon errors that had been visited with so intolerable a persecution. At the bar of the people Sir Robert Peel has been tried, condemned, and sentenced, but he has not been pilloried daily. He has been judged, too, upon the evidence of his public acts and professions, and not upon the arbitrary assignment of evil motives and intentions.

Mr O'Connell has been exposed to a different

treatment, and without provoking the indignation which, in the case of any Englishman, such treatment would not fail to excite. In this our adversaries have had encouragement. It denotes prejudices and jealousies which, if found to any depth, will be a precious mine of mischief to the Tories. Let this hope be realized, and they will use the foibles of the people for their division, their conquest, and their punishment. Wherever there is a weak place in the national character, there our enemies have a hold; and entertaining, as they do, an insolent contempt for the people, they fancy their power of tampering with the prejudices far greater than we believe it will prove; but yet they have a greater advantage of this sort than we can see with composure.

We observe a mean, a pusillanimous truckling to the Tory clamour against O'Connell, which gives us much disgust. Even some friends, nay, members of the Ministry, seem to think it a fine thing to intimate plainly that they think of Mr O'Connell pretty much as their virulent enemies do. One gentleman of liberal *professions*, Mr Hanbury, the candidate for Northamptonshire, supported by Mr Vernon Smith, would not admit that he was behind the Tories in hatred of the Representative of the Irish nation. All men who hold this sort of language are in effect fighting in the Tory ranks, no matter what their nominal position may be. We have seen the single point at which

the enemy have been perseveringly driving for the last twelvemonth, and the Whigs, and Radicals (if there be any such), who co-operate in the attack, are aiding and abetting in the design. Sir Robert Peel, when he undertook the government last December, built his hopes of success upon disunion between the O'Connell party and the Whigs. He was disappointed. He had "sold the bear's skin before he had killed it;" the Tories, having seen the error, are now beginning at the beginning, and endeavouring to get the bear into their toils, and some of their Liberal antagonists are very busily at work assisting them in digging the pit. Sir Robert was out in his reckoning upon disunion, and assumed the Government before the ground was broken for it in divisions on the popular side; but now his party are proceeding more methodically, in aiming at producing a disunion, which would be as much without future remedy, as without present excuse; and marvellous to behold, professed Reformers and Ministerialists are lending themselves to the destructive design! And, on the part of the latter persons, what is the object—what have they in view—what would they have—what do they desire? To repudiate O'Connell may sound very fine, and vastly gentlemanly; but if a quarrel with him were the thing in the world most to be wished, how are we to set about it? So long as he supports the present Ministry, because its policy conforms with the principles he deems just

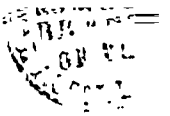
and beneficial, how is he to be thrown off without throwing off also every claim to the support of the people? The way to quarrel with Mr O'Connell would be to pass the Irish Tithe Bill without the appropriation clause; to drop the excellent project of Municipal Reform; to govern Ireland by the Orange faction, instead of the rule of impartial justice, first established by Lord Mulgrave; to provoke, by every insult, oppression, and iniquity, the fierce passions of the people, and then to break the sword of violence in execution upon them. By this course the quarrel would be had with O'Connell, and soon brought to an issue; but the Government would fall into the hands of the Tories with the first move to their abhorred policy.

To diminish the influence of Mr O'Connell would be another and a very different sort of task, far easier; and we earnestly recommend it as in every way better than the quarrel.

The influence of O'Connell rests on the grievances of his country—a broad basis, certainly, but one which it will be a labour of love to contract. Every wrong that is redressed—every oppression that is lightened—every abuse that is removed—is so much taken from the foundation of O'Connell's power. To undermine it nothing is necessary but just government, a few years of which would leave O'Connell little more of hold on his countrymen than what should be all to him—the gratitude of a happy, an elevated, and a prosperous people.

In making these remarks we shall not be suspected of partiality, as we have never been blind to the faults of Mr O'Connell, nor silent upon them, for we have regarded them at once as disgraces and impediments to his good cause. In the intoxication of his northern tour, when others were applauding the triumph, our congratulations were wanting, for we foresaw the acid fermentation to which all those sweets would turn. The Ministerial press pursued another course, and committed more than its usual blunder in adulating Mr O'Connell; for in his true proportions of power and merit he was obnoxious enough to envy and jealousy, more especially as an Irishman.

Among the Ministerialists who now delight in repudiating Mr O'Connell are some who are quite free from any sentiment of national prejudice or jealousy of any kind, and it is with them a matter of taste to dislike the co-operation of Mr O'Connell—or rather, we believe, we should more correctly say —to dislike their obligations to Mr O'Connell. Persons of this way of feeling remind us of Æsop's stag, who took sadly to heart the ugliness of his legs, and grieved that they were so unworthy of the beauty of his horns.



MR O'CONNELL AND THE MINISTRY.

If we believed that there was a compact such as the Tories allege, between the Ministry and Mr O'Connell—if we believed that justice to Ireland was merely bartered for O'Connell's support—if we believed that the good government of that long suffering and distracted country was only the price paid for votes turning the scale of power in the House of Commons, we should hold in distrust and contempt the men who did right solely as a matter of bargain and sale, and whose motives to the justest course of policy were of no higher a nature than considerations of party advantage. On such terms the Tories themselves offered to serve as Reformers, and on such terms their offer was wisely spurned by the people, who saw that no faith could be placed in men detesting the principles they pledged themselves to promote. To have trusted power to the Tories, upon the promise that it would be turned against abuses, would have been like giving a sword to a freebooter, on the promise that he would cut his own throat with it. The compact which the Tories rail at as existing between the Ministry and O'Connell, is precisely the compact which they, the Tories, would have made with the

Radicals, if the Radicals, waving moral considerations, would have put trust in men whose promised course of conduct was opposed to the current of their long-known opinions, and to the notorious direction of their sinister interests. All that the Tories now impute to their opponents they would gladly have practised, with the exception of the faith with which the pretended compact has, according to them, been observed. Our own firm conviction is that there has been no compact, no treaty, no stipulation, and that the measures of Government are no more sold to Mr O'Connell for his support, than they are to Mr Grote, Mr Hume, or any other independent Reformer. The measures honestly proposed for the peace and welfare of Ireland have been as honestly approved and supported by Mr O'Connell, but we have great doubts whether he has ever known more of the Ministerial plans than he has seen in execution. We wish the case had been otherwise—we wish Mr O'Connell had had a place in the councils of his country corresponding with his political importance. Ballasted with responsibility, he would have made an excellent officer; and the leading error of the Whigs, beginning with Lord Grey, has been the position in which they have left Mr O'Connell. It is because they have appeared to shrink timorously from official union with him that the Tories have made so much of the charge of secret alliance.

The clamour of the last twelve months would have died away, for want of food, if Mr O'Connell had been boldly advanced to office: and the prejudice to which that clamour has been addressed would have been abashed by the affront to it. The persecution of O'Connell has obtained head, because there has been a yielding to it instead of a defiance of it. The scope for imputation has been afforded not by what the Government has done, but by what it has not ventured to do; and the deed would have taken from faction its favourite resource, calumny, and left it to fret itself out against notorious fact, upon which it would soon have exhausted its voice. A bold stroke always commands English sympathy, and many a man who now thoughtlessly joins in the outcry against the imputed O'Connell coalition, as something underhand and skulking, would applaud the manliness of an open junction, with its accompanying responsibilities. Notwithstanding the error in judgment we have noted, however, there is enough of wisdom and justice in the policy of the Government towards Ireland to unite Reformers, and therefore to bear the brunt of tenfold the hostility which the Tories can wage against it.

Ireland, which has been the rock that has wrecked preceding Ministries, is the rock of strength to the present Government; and the right principles having been laid down, no vicious

Administration can rest hereafter where their blessings have been experienced.

The Tories may carry the sword into Ireland, but this is all they can do; they may spill blood, but they cannot govern: they cannot carry on anything but civil war in the sister country. Wedded to the misrule of Ireland, they are for ever wedded to strife in that quarter; and, not to mention other considerations, the people of England would not keep a Ministry in so expensive an indulgence as blood, the smallest drop of which, spilt in civil war, costs more gold than the mightiest stream of the blessed charities.

In Ireland we have seen the highest merits of the Government displayed, and Ireland is therefore the citadel of its strength, which baffles all the resources of the Tories, with the Church upon their shoulders.

The friends of the Ministry must see this grand advantage, and that it has been procured by the maintenance of principles in which Mr O'Connell, representing the people of Ireland, concurs; but some subaltern members of the Government seem to feel that the position of strength resting on such claims to honour availeth not while Mordecai sitteth in the gate. Let all such beware of the fate of Haman, for surely, on the gibbet prepared for Mordecai, any Haman will hang.

FEUDS IN THE ENEMY'S CAMP.

SOME curious discoveries have been made of the feuds raging in the Tory camp. According to the *Times*, Sir Robert Peel has to complain that the thanes fly from him; and he is despised and deserted by "the minions of the titled and landed Aristocracy." Nor does this appear to be any new treatment, for the *Times* says:—

"While Minister, and afterwards while leader "of the Opposition, Sir R. Peel was, we say, "scandalously treated by those *minions* of titled "and landed Aristocracy who constituted a nume- "rical portion of the House of Commons' *Con-* "*servatives.*"

The *Times* then proceeds to prove, that unless all the idlers and profligates rally round Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, the Church must go down (*i. e.* lose its sinecures), and the Conservative cause must perish. A more powerful address to the debauchery of the land has never been uttered. The *Times* shows, at great length, that the main strength of the Tory party lies among insignificant triflers and reprobates, and that if such men cannot be torn from the "criminal indulgencies," a *decent* minority cannot be mustered, and

all must be lost. It rates them soundly for giving themselves up wholly to the filthy vices which interfere with their duties (!) in Parliament, and argues as if they were wasting all their profligacy in private pleasures, when the Conservative cause has a claim to a share of it. Yet, lovingly concludes the *Times*, "we mean no offence to any man,—our desire is to benefit those most to whom we have the most unceremoniously addressed ourselves"—that is to say, the *Times* desires to benefit most those "contemptible pretenders, profiting by a disgraceful fraud," and the dissolute crew whom it has upbraided for their abandonment to vice, and characterized as "the blots and plague-spots of the Aristocracy." These are the men whom the *Times* is most anxious to serve, as it says, by "a salutary rudeness," and of course they would fill the foremost rank, and have the lion's share of the spoil, if the Tories were to return to office.

According to the *Times*, if all the places of criminal indulgence in London could be closed during the session, the High Church party would make a gallant muster. Attendance, attendance, is its cry; and it reminds the Conservative sportsman that *bottom* is the highest attribute of blood, and, tropically, their bottom must keep them to their seats. To hatch any mischief they must sit with the application of brooding fowls. The movement is only to be encountered by a resolute exercise of the sedentary virtues. Tories who

would save the Church and Constitution must begin to practise sitting.

But what does the appeal of the *Times* intimate? Simply that Sir Robert Peel is in want of a *tail.* The *Times* affectingly says—"it is a matter of "notoriety that Sir Robert Peel has never been "properly supported," and that, because he is rich as well as plebeian, he has not escaped the jealousy of "*high-born but low-minded fools,*" and has had to complain of "cold, sullen, or fitful service from those whose battle he was bravely fighting."

So at last out comes the secret of all the outcry against O'Connell—it is the old story of the untailed fox's quarrel with tails—and the *Times,* finding there was no railing off the useful member, has set resolutely to work to knit a tail for poor Sir Robert. Hence it has described the great bulk of the Tory party in Parliament as fit for nothing but to furnish a following or a tail to Sir Robert Peel. It has therofore rated them down to the level of their uses. Oh that the incomparable author of the *Fudge Family* would throw the gathering of the Tories into his piquant verse—the call to come from the stews, the hells, and the dice-box, and the marshalling of the Crockfords and Cumberlands, when the Irish Tithe Bill is in the day's orders.

An appeal of this kind to the immorality of a party, for the especial safety of the Church, is indeed an unique thing in its style. The nearest

parallel to it we remember is the address of a captain in the navy to his crew, upon carrying his ship into action against one of superior force—"You d—d good-for-nothing scoundrels, you must take that ship, for it is out of the question to think of striking, as I should be ashamed to surrender such a set of rogues and blackguards to the enemy; and would rather fire the powder magazine than let the Frenchmen see such a disgrace to his Majesty's service as a crew like you. So fight it out, for you are good for nothing but food for powder."

We believe that the *Times* has stated, with perfect truth, the feelings and conduct of the Tories towards Sir Robert Peel. In all their discomfiture they have murmured against their leader, and said—"This comes of having the son of a cotton-spinner for a chief, a man without *pluck*, and without a grandfather. How can the Tory cause be upheld by a gilded mushroom?"

Murmurs of this nature are in a very illiberal and insolent spirit; but we can hardly charge them with ingratitude, as, candidly, we do not see that the party have any reason to be thankful to Sir Robert Peel. He and the Duke of Wellington, between them, have certainly assisted considerably in pulling the rotten old House to pieces. The Duke, having given one heavy shock to his party by the concession of the Catholic Relief Bill, thought to make sure of being right upon the other great question of Parliamentary Reform by refus-

ing any concession, and to that resolution (which seems to have been adopted upon the principle, that if one course leads to embarrassment, the direct opposite must needs be successful) we owe the Reform Bill. These two moves, in two extremes, rent the temple of Toryism to its foundation. As for Mr Peel, he had, at an earlier day, rendered the service of dissipating the prestige of the Tory system. The maxim of the old school was, that things worked well; that all was for the best; that the system was without flaw or blemish. Mr Peel admitted error, and did not go far enough to remedy it. He seems to us to have been specially sent by Heaven for the destruction of his party; and this is the view we took of his merits as a statesman when circumstances disposed us to regard him most favourably—soon after the passing of the Relief Bill, when the Tories were raging against him. He is too good for his party, and not good enough for the Reformers. He does enough to disturb the one side, without going far enough to serve the other, except as he damages his friends. He is, as we have before observed, of an epicene character, which forbids the espousal of good or evil, and leaves him in a fluttering inconstant dalliance with either, that excites, but never satisfies, and ends in resentment and desertion. In his most liberal days we remarked that he did a little good here, and a little mischief there; now patching up a petty reform,

and now bolstering up a vast tottering abuse. He is the link between the old and the new age, as the bat connects bird and beast; and he is disliked for the caprice of his conformation.

There were two courses for a sagacious Tory leader a few years ago—either to make his stand against any change, and to endeavour to hold together the whole system of abuse, affirming it to be perfect, and not to be touched without mischief; or to yield gradually and sparingly to the demand for improvement, never coming to a check or a dead resistance, and never conceding any but small reforms, the grace of the seasonableness of the concession making up for what would be wanting in magnitude. By paying the debt of justice due to the nation as it were in sixpences, the bank of abuses would have held out for many a year. But Sir Robert Peel took neither course; he neither made the obstinate stand, nor humoured the spirit of improvement. He acted in fits and starts in both ways—discovered the rottenness of his cause, and did homage to truth and justice—inspirited his opponents, disgraced one entire wing of his party, and yet attempted a vain rally for extreme abuses. To this practice his conduct on the Municipal Reform was an exception; but in that instance, though the surrender was great, it was too late. For the grace of it the time was when Sir Robert issued his manifesto upon taking office, and *then* he merely chose to say that the

subject would be considered. He is always too late. And, after the season for middle measures has passed away, for doing too much in reformation for faction, and too little for honesty, and hitting his own party in the happy medium between wind and water, there is no one like Sir Robert Peel. Often do we feel how grateful we should be to Providence for giving us enemies who do services that no friends could accomplish.

THE DESTRUCTIVE LORDS.

IRELAND is to be denied the benefit of municipal institutions, she is declared unworthy of them by the Tory Peers, who will only accept of the measure proposed by the Ministry so far as it is destructive. Sir Robert Peel's plan is to be adopted—the corporations are to be extinguished. Our lords and masters have resolved on this insult and injury to Ireland. As they say in the East, To hear is to obey—the Lords are great! Nations are but as the dust under their feet.

We have no words of blame for the Lords, and any pretence of warning would be as vain as insincere. We desire nothing more than the most distinct manifestation of their dispositions. Having

set the bramble up in authority, we have no right to quarrel with its thorns. The majority of the Peers are the natural product of the institution, and the community which suffers the existence of a legislative authority without qualification or responsibility, has only to blame itself for the consequences. The Lords are but the spoiled children of the country, and society has to lay their errors to the account of its own toleration of a vicious system. In answer to the remonstrances of the people, "Why have you misruled us?" the Lords may justly ask, at some not far distant day, "Why have you suffered us to be debauched with power?"

The public will find out in time where the fault lies, and that they must remove causes of derangement instead of railing at effects. In our Parliamentary Reform the cart was put before the horse, and a sensible, practical people will, with due experience, make the discovery that in such a posture of things there can be no motion. In such case, instead of "danging the cart," like a boor, and thinking it "bewitched," our wisdom will show itself brighter in bringing the cart to the tail of the horse instead of the head. But these are abstruse conclusions in politics to which a prudent people cannot be guided without long experience of the most painful troubles and inconveniences. Evils must drub us into a perception of their nature, and we bear a vast deal of beating.

It may for some time be a question with the country, whether it is better to have good government or hereditary Peers of Parliament. All that we desire is, that people will make their choice without deceiving themselves with idle expectations of altered effects from unaltered causes; and nothing is so calculated to disturb the just judgment as any injustice to the majority of the Lords, who are only what their institution makes them. Whatever may be the tyranny of the present House, we have no earthly reason for expecting a better while the same causes remain in operation; and we shall always defend the Lords against any censures implying that the fault belongs peculiarly to the men, when it is in truth the natural offspring of the institution.*

There is one habit of the Tory Lords, the habit of putting forth false pretences, which cannot, however, be attributed to the intoxication of undue power. When they are upbraided for disregard-

* If the present spirit and dispositions of the Upper House be referrible to the principles of the institution, and if the same causes must produce the same effects, we may be asked how the minority has escaped corruption? and we answer, partly as certain constitutions resist disease in a pest-house, or seat of malaria, and partly because the Whig Peers were excluded from power for nearly half a century, during which time profligacy luxuriated, and misrule ran its harshest course. Having no share in the abuses but to pay their price, the Whig Peers regarded them with the aversion of other sufferers, and sympathized with the people.

ing and outraging public opinion, they may with good reason answer—"What have we to do with "public opinion? Why do we hold a power "without responsibility, unless it be to exercise it "purely according to our own pleasure? If it "were intended that we should be influenced by "public opinion, we should be brought under its "control, but being accountable in no quarter for "the uses we may make of our authority, it is "clearly designed that we should be guided only "by our own wills. For what can we be armed "with a power independent of the crown and the "people, if it be not to exercise it purely for our "own objects? The Judges are not told to con-"sult public opinion in their expositions of the law, "and it is their function to state what the law is, "without respect or reference to the pleasure of "any man, or any men, and it is our born privi-"lege to make or unmake the law, with as com-"plete a disregard to the wishes and feelings of "society. The Judges are bound indeed by the "law as it is written or established in custom or "precedent, but the only law by which we are "bound is our own good pleasure. Were it "intended to be otherwise, we should be made "answerable in some quarter for our conduct, and "removable from the legislature; but we hold our "authority as we hold our estates, by inheritance, "and the public has no more right to require us "to consult its opinion as to the way in which we

" may deal with its interests, than it has to require
" us to consult its opinion as to the way in which
" we may regulate our households. Legislation
" goes as much with our houses as any fixture in
" them, and an instrument which comes to us by
" birth, and cannot be taken out of our hands,
" whatever use we may make of it, is clearly de-
" signed to be employed by us for our own ends,
" and without a thought of the wishes, feelings,
" and judgments of others."

Against this we have nothing to say, the inferences are fairly drawn from the possession of irresponsible power, which bears with it the distinctest solicitation to a selfish and an arbitrary use, but there is an inconsistency with this in dealing in false pretences, which necessarily imply a deference to the public opinion, above which the Peers are placed by the constitution. To act up to the genius of the institution, and indeed to the true spirit of its members, the Lords should not condescend to give any reasons for their resolves, but should simply accompany them with, *car tel est notre plaisir*. Indeed, what more have they to do with reason than with public opinion, and why should they recognize the one jurisdiction more than the other? They acquire the legislative authority without the qualification of reason. When a hereditary Peer claims his seat, his possession of reason is utterly beside the question,

and he may meddle in the affairs of the nation till he is declared incompetent to manage his own, and put under the care of a keeper.

It seems to us that a body of men, holding power without qualification or responsibility, should deem reason as much beside or beneath their regards as public opinion. If they were intended to be rational, another qualification than birth would have been required. The Lords should repose purely on *will*, and they ought to observe that the use of false pretences and flimsy sophistries serves no purpose, while it derogates from their highest pretension, which should, in accordance with the genius of their institution, be the exercise of authority pursuant only to their own pleasures. Falsehood in all its shapes is a sign of weakness, and this is a sign which the Lords, we are certain, would not willingly exhibit.

All the objections made in the House of Peers to the Irish Municipal Reform Bill would, if of any force, be arguments for the repeal of the Catholic Relief Bill. It is alleged that the constituencies in corporations would be but the mouthpiece of the priests; this, if an objection of any truth and any worth, would be a far more forcible objection to the representation of Ireland in Parliament; and when the Lords refuse Municipal Reform on such a ground, and extinguish the Corporations, they should in consistency originate

a measure for abolishing all the boroughs, and taking the representation from all the counties in which the Catholic voters have the preponderance.

Another argument is, that the same principles of government are not applicable to England and Ireland, and that to extend all institutions found good in this country to the other side of St George' Channel would be full of danger. This is a propo sition which we cannot altogether deny. We gran that there may be institutions in England inapplicable to Ireland—we are not for fixing all that we have established here on the sister country without regard to varying circumstances—we admit, and freely admit, that things may have uses here which may be nothing but mischiefs and nuisances transplanted to Ireland. And, for example, in point of the Tory argument of an institution unjustly and injuriously extended from England to Ireland, we instance at once the Church.

What shall we say of the hypocrisy of men who refuse to give Ireland the benefit of the municipal institutions found good in England, because the circumstances of the two countries differ—that is to say, because the Catholics out-number the Protestants in the proportion of 7 to 1—while they insist on fixing on the Catholic land the religious establishment of the Protestant country! Can anything in inconsistency and effrontery exceed this? When the Church question is under discussion, of what avail is it to admonish the Tories of the differences

between the two countries—what force do they allow to the argument, that there is no plane for the unwieldy Establishment, that it rests insecurely and uneasily on vast inequalities, and that, to give it a chance of standing, its base must be cut away and squared to the spots presenting the least unfavourable surface to it. But to this the Tories, now so critical on varying circumstances, turned the ear of the deaf adder; Lord Stanley, above all, in the riot of injustice and absurdity, holding that any proportionment of the Church to the spiritual wants of its communicants, or any altered adaptation of it to the state of the country, would be a sacrilege. When the question is under discussion, whether an enormous establishment of one religion should be fixed upon a people of another faith, we are told that numbers and proportions are not to be looked at—that if one Protestant communicant only can benefit by a church, that one Protestant communicant shall have it—that if there be no Protestant communicant to benefit by a church, the church shall yet remain to benefit none but its nominal, functionless minister. But when it is proposed to establish institutions in which the people may learn to exercise the duties of citizens, then, forsooth, we are told to look at numbers and proportions, and rather fling all the advantages away than run the risk of giving them exclusively to the Catholic majority. The small Protestant minority is to have its vast disproportioned Church Establishment, whether

it has need of any of it or not, and maintained by the Catholic people; but the great Catholic majority is not to have municipal institutions, because it is apprehended (against all reasonable evidence to the contrary, drawn from the closest analogies) that Protestants might not be admitted to a share in the working of them. What an iniquitous partiality in the one case—what an exquisite refinement of impartiality in the other! A Church Establishment, impost and yoke at the expense of the majority, for the small minority; but no municipalities, with their inestimable advantages in civilization, lest the majority should have possession of offices to the exclusion of the minority!

After the Lords have done their work of destruction, we must not be surprised to find the Catholics taking up the same position against the Church Establishment which the Tories have occupied against Municipal Reform, and refusing to listen to any terms short of extinction—"No Municipalities, no Church Establishment," would be but the cry of a just retaliation.

The Marquis of Lansdowne, in an admirable speech—most close and forcible in argument, pointedly expressed, and animated with a spirit worthy of the occasion—admonished the Lords that they were about to commit themselves to—

"The distinct declaration that one of the great "constitutional principles attaching to the govern-"ment of this country, recognised at all times—

" recognised as to England—recognised as to Scot-
" land, in the reigns of the Plantagenets, the
" Tudors, and the Stuarts, before the Reformation
" and after the Reformation—should be solemnly
" declared by that House inapplicable to the people
" of Ireland, and one of which, in policy and
" justice, they ought to be deprived."

After such a legislative outrage, the revival of the penal laws against the Catholics would be but a natural and a consistent step.

The Lords are surely not satisfied with Mr O'Connell's greatness — as his power is their favourite topic of declamation and invective, they must desire to increase its proportions, and they are adopting the right method for that object. The reformed corporations might have in some degree superseded his influence. The Lords will leave Ireland nothing but its O'Connell—they will not suffer the people to feel their importance, and their ability to act for themselves, lest their dependence on one man should be abated, and Tory declamation starved out. Well, said Lord Lansdowne :—

" It is astonishing the use that is made of
" Mr O'Connell. It is astonishing this universal
" admission of servitude to Mr O'Connell. It is
" really gratifying to hear the noble Lords opposite
" admit that it is to him they are indebted for all
" their arguments. Noble Lords cry 'Hear, hear!' at
" this moment they admit the fact that Mr O'Connell

"furnishes them with all their arguments, they "refer everything to him, and judge of a measure "being good or bad by his having supported or "opposed it. *Wise, just, and magnanimous prin-* "*ciple.* I wish the noble Lords joy of the principle "they admit into the legislation of this House, and "congratulate them on the wisdom of letting it go "forth to the public. * * * But do noble "Lords remember, when they talk of these muni- "cipal boroughs becoming schools of agitation, that "there are means of agitation without them? "Does the noble and learned Lord remember, that "if this bill be not passed, the persons who would "have composed these municipal bodies will con- "tinue to exist in a country in which public meet- "ings are free, and where they will continue to "have the right—unimpaired and unchecked by "any obstacle from the crown, the noble and "learned Lord, or the majority of that House—to "meet and publish, speak and debate? Does the "noble and learned Lord really believe that seeing "these local funds and powers vested in the crown, "when they have been hitherto administered by "local bodies, will so gratify these people, that "there will be no agitation in these places *when* "*they are robbed and defrauded of the authority* "*which naturally belongs to them?* I own, my "Lords, that I can anticipate no such result."

These words, glowing with an honest indignation, are the words, be it observed, of one of the

most calm and moderate members of the Liberal minority in the House of Lords. When the Marquis of Landowne is so moved, it must be by a great cause. His speech does him the highest honour.

REFORM OF THE IRISH CORPORATIONS.

THE Tories have taken the character of Destructives. They will not listen to any plan for the reform of the Irish Corporations, and insist on their utter extinction. This is their mode of going to the root of things—they pluck up not the abuse but the institution, having the fear of improvement before their eyes. They are not Radical Reformers but Radical Destroyers. They dispose of 71 corporations with an off-hand assertion that they are not worth mending, and must be broken up and flung away. They will not listen to any project for reconstruction, they must drive the ploughshare through the foundations that they may sow the dragon's teeth in the furrows. Beginners as they are in the lessons of reform, they have not got beyond the first letter of the alphabet, the schedule A of destruction, in which

they would include the privileges and properties of 71 boroughs with 900,000 inhabitants! We cannot after this laugh at the Tories for proposing to do things "bit by bit." They have shown a boldness in innovation unrivalled. The men lately so tenacious of prescription are now trying their hands at proscription with a *sans culotte* breadth of execution. They will hearken to no scheme of correction or reformation, but insist on the *noyade* of all the Irish Municipalities. Sir Robert Peel and Lord Stanley are now of the mountain party.

The Radicals have been quarrelled with for their proposed methods of cure, but the Tory Destructives at once substitute killing for cure. In the instance of disordered popular institutions they appear to accept, as a rule of public policy, in the most literal sense, the text, "if thine eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee;" and they would destroy every organ, and lop away every limb of the body politic, rather than submit to restore them to a healthy state, and, with it, to useful functions obedient to the popular will. The complaint is paralysis, and our Tory practitioners protest that there is nothing for it but the knife. It is indeed war to the knife with Irish rights.

The motion of the Tory Destructives, for the extinction of the Irish Corporations, has been defeated by a majority of 307 against 243—a

clear superiority of 64. This is a great victory, and it is to be observed that it is won upon the enemy's best ground, on the field of his own election, in the Parliament returned in answer to the appeal and under the government of Sir Robert Peel.

Where, let us now ask, are the sixty Tory members who, according to the exact information of the ingenious *Standard*, were snowed-up in the country on the night of the Address? Is it not time that some inquiry should be made as to the fate of those much-neglected gentlemen? The ice-bound whalers have come to port one after another, but not one of the *Standard's* snowed-up sixty has found his way to the House of Commons. A Ross should be dispatched on an expedition in search of them; not Captain Ross—Mr Charles Ross will do as well. If a dog is lost some guineas are offered for his recovery, but the Tories lose sixty members and never think them worth asking for! An advertisement, if not an expedition of discovery, should at least be sent forth, stating that sixty Tory members of Parliament, marked so and so, were lost in the snow-storm on the 4th of February, and have never since been heard of, and offering a reward for any information touching them. Our suspicion is, that as they were smothered in the snow they melted in the thaw. The *Standard*, which knows every thing, will tell us whether our conjecture is right.

Some semi-Conservatives, acting up to the better principles they profess, voted with the Ministerial majority against the destructive motion of Sir Robert Peel, and it will be a matter of much curiosity to see which course will be taken by the Lords,—whether, as "Tribunes of the Poor," they will feel themselves called upon to abolish all the Municipal Corporations of Ireland, extinguishing the privileges, and placing the properties in the hands of Commissioners of the Crown—or whether they will recognise the better wisdom and justice of giving to Ireland the benefit of a good municipal system, reconstructed on the old foundations, according to the plan which has worked so well, and proved so satisfactory in England and Scotland.

The Tories have now the eminent distinction of having forced on the consideration of Parliament the most sweeping measure of destruction, and the most violent innovation proposed in our time. As Lord John Russell observed, instead of adhering to the maxim of repairing and restoring, they would have abolished every trace of municipal institutions, would have permitted no stone to stand on another, and, to follow up the destruction with the most abrupt change, they would have substituted a central administration for the local management of corporate property. Justly did Lord John Russell remark, that the proposition to place the estates of boroughs in the hands of

Commissioners of the Crown involved the greatest invasion of property that has yet been attempted. And the authors and supporters of this scheme dub themselves Conservatives! They are, however, following a revolutionary example with the most curious exactness, as the following passage from Tocqueville's 'Democracy in America' will show —

"Under the ancient Monarchy (of France) the "King was the sole author of the laws; and "below the power of the Sovereign *certain ves-* "*tiges of provincial institutions half destroyed,* "*were still distinguishable.* These provincial "institutions were incoherent, ill-compacted, and "frequently absurd; in the hands of the Aristocracy "they had sometimes been converted into instru- "ments of oppression. The Revolution declared "itself the enemy of Royalty and of provincial "institutions at the same time; it confounded all "that had preceded it—despotic power and the "check to its abuses—in indiscriminate hatred, "*and its tendency was at once* TO OVERTHROW "AND TO CENTRALIZE."

Sir Robert Peel and Lord Stanley are now the Revolutionists, whose object is to overthrow and to centralize, precisely in accordance with the quoted precedent.

Last year, when the English Corporation Bill was under discussion, prodigious was the clamour of the Tories about the privileges of the freemen;

the "Tribunes of the Poor" were then rampant in behalf of all such rights existing and inchoate, but on the present occasion there has not been a particle of concern upon this once moving subject, and the freemen's privileges would have been bundled to destruction with the corporations, as things not worth a thought.

Lord Howick's answer to Sir Robert Peel's question, whether his Majesty's Ministers were prepared to make the Corporations of Ireland, as Mr O'Connell had said, "normal schools for peaceful agitation," was in the most manly spirit and the best sense:—

"The Right Honourable Baronet had asked "whether the House was prepared to make these "towns so many 'normal schools of peaceful agita-"tion?' The Right Honourable Baronet was ever "ready to take advantage of any careless expres-"sions which might drop from an opponent. But "there was great truth in what had been stated "by the honourable and learned member for "Dublin as to these towns becoming 'normal "schools,' and in his (Lord Howick's) opinion, "instead of that being a reason for voting against "this bill, it was a reason for passing it into a law. "He believed that the Irish Corporations would "be 'normal schools,' not of agitation, but for "teaching the people of Ireland the right use of the "powers of self-government. (Cheers). He be-"lieved that they, by degrees, would create the

" elements of an enlightened and independent " public opinion, in which only there was hope, in " which only there was safety for this country. " While the people of Ireland remained in their " present feverish and excited state there was no " permanent safety for this country; but when, " by the exercise of their political powers, they " became accustomed to their use, and when an " independent public opinion should be created, " then this country would have no cause to fear " the influence of the honourable and learned " member, or of any other individual."

Tocqueville concurs in this view of municipal institutions. He says—

" Town-meetings are to liberty what primary " schools are to science; they bring it within the " people's reach, they teach men how to use and " how to enjoy it. A nation may establish a " system of free government, but without the " spirit of municipal institutions it cannot have the " spirit of liberty. * * * * Local assem- " blies of citizens constitute the strength of free " nations. * * * *How can a populace, un-* " *accustomed to freedom in small concerns, learn to* " *use it temperately in great affairs.* What resist- " ance can be offered to tyranny in a country " where every private individual is impotent, and " where the citizens are united by no common tie. " *Those who dread the licence of the mob, and those* " *who fear the rule of absolute power, ought alike*

"*to desire the progressive growth of provincial* "*liberties.*"

The Irish want the habits of recourse to legitimate powers and reliance on them; they want the sanctions of public opinion and a sense of the protection belonging to it; they want also the elevating recognition of their own rights in forms of authority; they want the respect for laws and institutions which is willingly paid by people who are component parts of the power to which they bow: all these things will, to a considerable extent, be supplied by the local governments.

It is whimsical enough that the men who call for the overthrow of the Municipal Corporations, and advocate centralization, are never weary of declaiming against the power of Mr. O'Connell, which is itself a centralization of the feelings of the people.

A demagogue (we use the word in the strict, not in the offensive sense) is the centralized representative of masses of men who have not the powers and organization necessary to their individual security and self-importance. They place at the disposal of one the small share of power which each individually finds insufficient for protection; but increase the power, make its value felt, and with the consciousness that they are strong enough to take care of themselves arises a pride which detaches the people from the demagogue, and confines them to the circles in which their pri-

vileges and influence lie. The effect of conferring legitimate powers in Ireland, and of establishing, as it were, local parliaments, must be the diminution of the influence of Mr O'Connell, whose power and importance are now made up of all the power and importance which the people want in their own land.

Justice and sound policy equally dictate the extension to the Irish of privileges assimilated, as closely as circumstances will allow, to those enjoyed by the people of England, for we not only, by such measures, realize the Union and communicate the benefit of salutary institutions, but we also give ourselves the benefit of advancing the Irish in civilization and all the habits of good government. Our opponents may on this subject take another important lesson from Tocqueville, no lover of Democracy, but yet a strenuous advocate for investing the people with legitimate powers. That philosophical writer observes—

"I am persuaded that the only means which we "possess at the present time of inculcating the "notion of rights, and of rendering it, as it were, "palpable to the senses, is to invest all the mem- "bers of the community with the peaceful exer- "cise of certain rights; this is very clearly seen "in children, who are men without the strength "and the experience of manhood. When a child "begins to move in the midst of the objects which "surround him, he is instinctively led to turn

" everything which he can lay his hands upon to " his own purposes; he has no notion of the pro- " perty of others; but as he gradually learns the " value of things, and begins to perceive that he " may in his turn be deprived of his possessions, " he becomes more circumspect, and he observes " those rights in others which he wished to have " respected in himself. The principle which the " child derives from the possession of his toys is " taught to the man by the objects which he may " call his own. * * * * The government " of the Democracy brings the notion of political " rights to the level of the humblest citizens, just " as the dissemination of wealth brings the notion " of property within the reach of all the members " of the community; and I confess that, to my " mind, this is one of its greatest advantages. I " do not assert that it is easy to teach men to " exercise political rights; but I maintain that, " when it is possible, the effects which result from " it are highly important: and I add, that if there " ever was a time at which such an attempt ought " to be made, that time is our own. * * * * " When I am told that, since the laws are weak " and the populace is wild, since passions are ex- " cited and the authority of virtue is paralysed, no " measures must be taken to increase the rights of " the democracy—I reply, that *it is for these very* " *reasons that some measures of the kind must be* " *taken;* and I am persuaded that governments are

" still more interested in taking them than society " at large, because governments are liable to be " destroyed, and society cannot perish."

Tocqueville observed, as most admirable in the United States, the ready obedience of the people to the laws, and the respect for rights and property, because, as he explains—" In America the " lowest classes have conceived a very high notion " of political rights, because they exercise those " rights; and they refrain from attacking those " of other people, in order to ensure their own " from attack." The precise opposite to all this has been the curse of Ireland, and nothing can be so salutary, where there is any material for it, as to affect the people with privileges, and to make them feel that they have something to do with the powers which govern them, and regulate affairs in which they are interested According to the same view, the voice of the municipalities in the recommendation of magistrates, subject to the approval of the Government, is especially to be desired, inasmuch as most needed in Ireland is a confidence in the administration of justice, a reliance on the protection of the law, which would soon be produced if its ministers had the respect of the people.

THE BITTER OBSERVANCE OF THE SABBATH.

Sir Andrew Agnew has made his annual motion for the bitter observance of the Sabbath, or, as he defines the object, to extend to all classes of his Majesty's subjects the privilege of protection in the due observance of the Sabbath.

After having so stated the principle of the Bill, if there be no hypocrisy in Sir Andrew Agnew, the enactments proposed will have the effect of prohibiting masters to employ servants in any manner of work, and suitable penalties will be directed for requiring or accepting any menial service. But this is not all; the Army and the Navy will be exempt from all duty, except that of religion, on Sundays,—not a hand will be allowed to touch a rope on board o' ship, and in the barrack-yard there will be a complete abstinence from pipe-clay, and in the cavalry quarters not a whisp of hay or straw, or a handful of oats, will be touched on the day of rest. Further, the police will be taken from their stations and discharged from duty, for why should they sacrifice their souls for the good of society any more than any other class of men? If the thieves choose to work on the Sabbath, it must be

an affair between them and their consciences, and not between them and the police. In a word, according to the principle asserted by Sir Andrew Agnew, society will be dissolved for one day in the week. Such must be the effect of the proposed Bill, unless Sir Andrew deals in two measures, and is a pharisaical hypocrite. A man who believes it a law of religion to abstain from any manner of work on Sunday, cannot admit of any earthly reason for exception. If we recognize the authority of the Mosaic law, our obedience must be unconditional. If, on the other hand, we are guided by the infallible expounders of the precepts of the Old Testament in the New, we shall think much more of deeds than of days. "Let no man judge you," says St Paul to the Colossians, "in meat or in drink, or in respect of any holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath-days." There were, however, Agnews in Paul's time, and they were called, as now, Pharisees; and "Out upon ye, ye hypocrites!" was the frequent exclamation of the wisest and best.

Mr Roebuck pertinently observed:—

"He should like to know why those who were "such strenuous advocates for the proper observ- "ance of the Sabbath consented to employ ser- "vants on the Sunday. Was it not a fact that "these strict religionists made their servants black "their shoes, brush their hats and clothes, and do "everything that they deemed necessary to keep

" their house in order and promote their comfort?—Upon which said Sir O. Mosley: " Yes; but we " oblige them to go to church."

This is marvellously rich. Sir O. Mosley thinking work on the Sabbath a sin, compounds for obliging servants to commit it, as they are sent to church afterwards to rub the score out. But is the cook sent to church?—what Puritan sends the cook to church?—what Saint cares for the cook's soul? How is the soup to be made—how are the gravies to be drawn if the cook goes to church? Cooks are all abandoned to perdition, as if the common saying, that " the devil sends cooks," were a truth of holy writ.

Lord Sandon admonishes us to observe the distinction between necessary and unnecessary works. It is easily understood and defined. Necessary works are those indispensable to our own ease, comfort, and pleasure. Unnecessary works are those in which we personally have no concern. To Lord Sandon it is a necessary work to supply him with a handsome dinner on Sunday, a spring soup, a turbot, a few made dishes, a dessert, &c.; but while these good things are in process of preparation, as Lord Sandon strolls to his club to have some chat with a Bishop peradventure, he sees in the streets a number of unnecessary works, at which his piety and sense of decorum are greatly shocked, baked shoulders of mutton with potatoes under them, and that luxury of the poor which

seems a special bait of Satan, called "toad-in-the-hole," a piece of meat baked in a pudding, with a pool of gravy round it enough to swamp a dozen souls. These are unnecessary works, and "how cruel," apostrophizes Lord Sandon, "to the poor "baker! who is kept from church to bake the "dinners of a hundred families, who surely might "dine off cold meat and cold potatoes on the Sab-"bath, or, drat it! why don't they cook at home "as we do." But they can't, many can't afford the fuel, or have not the culinary skill, and the wife, instead, like Mrs Haller in the parody, of "dressing the dinner instead of herself," is dressing herself instead of the dinner—a sinful vanity, certainly, in the sight of a nobleman who rides in the Park, to look at the beauty and fashion of London in the Sunday drive.

We have remarked that cooks are never cared for by saints, because, proverbially, the devil sends them; and bakers are always the object of their tenderest concern, peradventure from association of ideas, as in magic lanterns we see them wrestling with the evil one. The professors of godliness have, however, to observe, that for one baker who works at his oven on Sunday a hundred cooks are released from duty, but what are a hundred cooks to one such precious being as a baker?

There are other unnecessary works which discerning legislators will perceive in the streets. As they drive along in the carriages necessary to

them, they will observe unnecessary omnibuses stuffed full of people. Now, what sort of occasion can there be for this? A pair of horses, a coachman, and an ingenuous cad, all employed to minister to the appetite of fourteen people for fresh air and green fields! To a legislator, in his quiet chariot and pair, with his coachman on the box and his footman behind, is it not heart-breaking to think of the unprotected state of that poor driver of the omnibus and the amiable cad, not to mention the dumb creatures?

In travelling, inns are necessary for the change of post-horses, when gentlemen find it convenient to make their journeys on the Sabbath, but there is a most unnecessary vintner's business carried on within twelve miles of London, at houses to which people run down on Sundays in coaches, gigs, &c., for no other object than to take a meal and go back again. This is obviously quite unnecessary, for Pharisees with villas, and the means and time for country excursions whenever they are so disposed, do not need any such accommodations. But we need not proceed with examples. The rule we have laid down will suffice, that whatever is indispensable to the ease and luxury of the rich is a necessary work, and that whatever is only indispensable to the enjoyment of a humbler class of people is unnecessary.

We will not say that the Sabbath could not be better spent than it is. We think there is room

for much improvement, by throwing open museums and exhibitions of the wonders of nature and the triumphs of art. All this might be done without any interference with the performance of the religious duties, and with the best effects on the minds and habits of the people. A rich man does not turn his pictures to the wall on Sunday, or throw a veil over his objects of *virtù*, and why should the humbler orders be forbidden such sights on the only day they have for seeing them?

All recreations, too, of an innocent and healthy character, should be not only tolerated, but encouraged. Sir Henry Hardinge has wisely recommended that amusements should be provided for the soldiery, as a mode of redeeming them from the habit of intoxication, which is the parent of all crimes. The effect is as much to be desired for the citizen or the rural labourer as for the soldier, and we sincerely believe that nothing would tend so much to the improvement of our labouring classes, as to indulge them with new and manly pleasures, and to make them sensible that exhilaration of the briskest kind is to be had away from the tap-room.

HOW TO ROAST THE PIG WITHOUT FIRING THE HOUSE.

At the very time when Mr O'Connell was calling for a Reform of the Peerage in his address to the people of Great Britain, Mr Sheil, at a Dublin meeting, was repudiating any wish for organic change. While the one was proving that the irresponsible power of the Lords was incompatible with good government, the other was endeavouring to make his hearers believe that there was some method of reconciling the interests of the people and the privileges of the Peers. The member for Tipperary in effect says, "Let us raise "a great storm about the House of Lords which "may frighten them into granting our demands; "but, when we set about frightening them, let us "be sure to apprise them distinctly, that though "we intend to make a terrible noise, by which we "hope to scare them from their evil purposes, it is "our resolution not to attempt the only thing they "have to dread. Let us hold forth on their "injustice, and show all the mischiefs they do to "the country, confessing to them, at the same "time, that we have no intention to retrench their "powers of injury."

Now we confess our inability to understand how the Lords are to be alarmed by agitation, while they are to be assured that recourse will not be had to the organic change, which is the only thing they have to fear.

If Mr Sheil would frighten spoiled children with a bugaboo, he should not so frankly explain that it will be quite harmless, notwithstanding the terrible figure which will be made of a broomstick, a sheet, and a scooped pumpkin, with a pair of rushlights to serve as flaming saucer eyes.

Mr Sheil thinks that, by a vast agitation throughout the United Kingdoms, the measure now in dispute, Municipal Reform, may be wrung from the Lords. We cannot see, for our own parts, why the House of Peers should yield, when it is told that it has no organic change to apprehend, and therefore nothing but a clamorous scolding to undergo; but if mere noise could weary the Lords into concession, the accompanying disturbance to the country would be rather a heavy price to pay for every good measure.

Charles Lamb, in one of his pleasantest papers, tells us that roast pig was first tasted by mankind after a fire in which some sucklings had been burnt, and that the people among whom this happy accident occurred having thence got a strong taste for roast pork, and being strictly observant of precedent, set a house on fire whenever they wanted to roast a pig. For ages this custom was continued, but at last the expense and terror of the

conflagrations became so grievous, that one of those great spirits which are born of the emergencies of nations, rose up and suggested that pig might be roasted without setting a house on fire. At first there was prodigious murmur at the innovation, and it was said that the necessity of setting a house on fire for a dish of pork was a salutary check to any excess of pig; but the great bulk of the people, who could not afford to burn down their houses once a month, and who suffered from the alarm and tumult of frequent conflagrations, supported the reform proposed by the sage, and pigs were thenceforth roasted by fires brought within the limits of grates, and under control.

Now it seems to us high time that we should have our roast pig without setting the house on fire. A conflagration for every suckling of improvement with which the nation proposes to treat itself appears to us a most barbarous and expensive method of accomplishing the object. We shall be told that the agent (opinion) has always ultimately effected the purpose, but, by bringing it to bear upon its material within new bounds, the thing will be done with more certainty, and with incomparably less trouble and cost to society.

By setting fire to three nations we dress our pig in the Lords, but would not the apparatus of a register stove, with its bars and limits, be preferable? Opinion is our fire, and its useful and powerful application is to fuel iron-bound.

There are some people, however, who really seem to prefer the most uncertain, circuitous, costly, and troublesome mode of attaining public objects. Measures of reform secured without a struggle would be to them as shooting sitting game is to sportsmen, or like incomes to Irish parsons without the salt of Exchequer suits, or the pleasures of tithe-hunting with the dogs of war. Mr Sheil, who is content to wrangle on with the Lords, and who wants no organic change, represents this class in the Commons, resembling his countryman, of whom the song goes—

> "There lived a young man of Ballynacrazy,
> Who wanted a wife to make him unasy."

They want an uncontrolled, domineering vixen of a House of Lords, "to make them unasy." Should there be a creation, we shall hope to see Mr Sheil included in it, under the title of Lord Ballynacrazy. And here let us observe, that a creation appears to be the sovereign specific which Mr Sheil has in view for the disorder in the State.

During the struggle for the Reform Bill loud was the demand for a creation, but latterly this temporary shift has been dismissed from men's views, and we have considered the renouncement of it as a sign of the ripening judgment of the public on the Peerage question. A creation would only give a short relief, and would increase

the difficulty of the ultimate reconstruction of the House; for the new Peers would soon catch the spirit of the institution, and when infected, a much larger creation would be necessary to overrule the increased number of Obstructives and carry a measure of organic reform. No cure of the vice of irresponsibility is to be effected by extending it to a greater number of persons. Men of average virtue may be spoiled by it, but the institution will not be materially improved.

"Sincerum est nisi vas, quodcunque infundis acescit."

Unless as the means of passing a bill for the Reform of the Peerage, within the frame of the constitution, a creation should not be recommended. It is a wretched expedient, even in its short period of success, as it manifestly makes the institution a mere instrument of the crown—a packed jury, as it were. Among the peculiarities of the House of Lords is this, that the only remedy for its disorders cannot be used without damage. The infusion of a number of new Peers is a dram which, while it gives a temporary stimulus, "drives nails into the victim's coffin," according to the expressive vulgar saying.

There is but one rational alternative. Either to make choice of good government and the means necessary to it; or, on the other hand, to prefer the House of Lords as it is, and with it to take its concomitant evils. Responsibility or irresponsibility—good government, or misrule—such is the

alternative—make the election of one and give up the other, whichever it be, for the two are not to be reconciled. As Bayle says upon another similar question between two things, "the con-"junction of the two is no less impossible than the "conjunction of the properties of a square and of "a circle. You must necessarily make an option "between them; if the conveniences of a round "table do not satisfy you, make a square one; "and do not pretend that the same table should "furnish you with the conveniences both of a round "table and of a square table."

So we say, choose responsibility or irresponsibility, but do not complain that irresponsibility will not harmonize with the opposite principle and give the same results. The House of Lords is the only exception to the principle of responsibility in the polity of our country, and is the working of the exception such as to recommend the principle? If so, let it have its scope; repeal the Reform Bill, and restore the rotten boroughs, the machine will then run smoothly, as of old, on the road to ruin. Where, but in the Lords, do we find an irresponsible authority? The powers of the Crown are responsible through its Ministers; it is true that the responsibility is not now exemplified in decapitation; instead of taking off the heads of bad servants of his Majesty, it is now the fashion to take their places from them, and loss of office is probably not less dreaded in these days than the loss

of the head in former times. An ex-Minister on the opposition benches is about an equivalent spectacle to a head over Temple bar. The responsibility of Ministers is their removability, and this is the responsibility with which we desire to affect the Lords. We need not repeat, after having so frequently discussed the subject, that of all the plans of Peerage Reform yet proposed, we prefer that of Mr O'Connell—an Elective House, the eligibility consisting in the Peerage by birth or creation, and the choice vested in large bodies of the people. To many minds, we are aware, such projects now appear like castle-building, and so would have seemed the plan of the Reform Bill six months before it was introduced into the House of Commons. Two years before it was accepted by the nation, a man who had anticipated such a change would have been treated as a lunatic. The Cardinal de Retz remarks on the wisdom of observing the distinction between things difficult and things impossible, and, as the Roman poet has it, time, in its revolutions, brings about events which the Gods themselves durst not promise to their votaries.

THE SESSION OF 1836.

THE common remark is, that nothing has been done in this Session; but we are of opinion that much has been done in the demonstration of the incompatibility of the existing House of Peers with good government. Indeed, when we regard the long list of measures of improvement destroyed by the Lords, as the price at which they have made their power understood by the people, the lesson appears cheap; and for the impression on the public mind we cheerfully compound for the sacrifice of present convenience at which it has been made. We have had a paroxysm of acute disease which drives the sufferer to remedies, instead of the insidious chronic malady whose attacks, as they are less sharp, are neglected while impairing the system. By a more covert course of hostility than the Peers, under the guidance of Lord Lyndhurst, have adopted, they might have husbanded their power of mischief, and spread it over a longer term of possession than is now in prospect. They have had a large stock of patience to deal with, and they have drawn upon it prodigally. They have had to do with a people more the slaves of custom than any others on the face of the

earth, and have forced them to contemplate the alternative of organic change, or submission to every abuse and injustice which it may be the pleasure or interest of two or three hundred irresponsible legislators to perpetuate.

When we hear the question asked, what has been done in the past Session? we answer, that the Lords, in retarding everything else, have advanced the question of Peerage Reform immeasurably beyond the expectation of those who had the worst opinion of their wisdom and their dispositions. In Lord Lyndhurst's boasts of what they have undone, their own House should have been included. Their discreet leader vaunts that they have discharged the duties of the Government; and certainly there is one duty which the Government is not prepared to discharge, and which they have performed marvellously well—namely, the duty of making the people at once distinctly understand that they cannot have good government together with the existing Upper House; and that they must make their choice, either to abide by the House of Peers as now constituted, and to abandon all thoughts of political improvement, or to proceed with reform, and to remove the obstacle in the present organization of the House of Lords. The necessity for remodelling the Upper House is now reluctantly admitted by a vast number of men of moderate opinions, who, six months ago, conceived it impossible that they should ever be brought to such a conclu-

sion. Never was a conversion on a great political question so rapid, but never was a conversion forced by such copious and irresistible evidence. Can we regard a Session as barren of advantage, which has exposed the great vice in the Constitution, and compelled the conviction, that without the removal of it the country cannot enjoy the blessings of good government? We do not underrate the merit of the various measures lost in the past Session, when we say that, had they past into law, their value would not have been comparable with the value of the lesson in the defeat of them by the Lords; for it is of transcendent importance that a false principle in the machinery of the Constitution should be detected and corrected, or its just objects can never be accomplished. Had the Lords acted a more crafty part, and, constraining their propensities, abstained from much of the mischief they have committed, there would yet have been a failure in the working of the Legislature; for it is not enough that the Second Chamber should refuse itself the pleasure of thwarting the wishes, and opposing the interests of the people, as the use of a Second Chamber is the revision of measures for the purpose of improving them, and such a function cannot be discharged by an assembly having a suppressed hostility to the objects proposed. Until we have a House of Lords concurring in design with the Commons, there is a fault preventing the proper working of

the legislative machinery. Such a defect, however, would long have escaped the detection of the people, if the Lords had abstained from overt acts of mischief; but, thanks to Lord Lyndhurst, there has been no disguise, no dissimulation; and, with a view to the Reformation which this frank course is hastening, we can say, with the optimists, that all has been for the best.

ERRORS IN THE WHIG VIEW OF THE PEERAGE QUESTION.

THE Whigs, who condemn the House of Peers and yet oppose the reform of the institution, argue that organic change is unnecessary, as the Lords would yield to a large majority of Reformers in the House of Commons, if the people will or *can* return them.

The same men, whose grand resource to overawe the Lords is a large majority of Reformers in the House of Commons, contend that the independent and irresponsible authority of the Peers is necessary, as a check to democracy. According to this doctrine, then, the Lords are at once to check democracy, and to be themselves controlled

by it. They are to present a barrier to the tide of popular opinion, and they are to be swept along with it if it runs strong. They are to restrain the movement, and to obey its strongest impulses. They are to exercise a judgment uninfluenced by the many, and yet, if they differ from the many (as represented in the other House) they are to conform to the popular judgment, which is opposed to their own. They are to be placed in an authority giving them views and motives different from those of the Commons, and they are to echo the voice of the Commons when it is swelled by a large majority having views and motives different from their own. They are to wield their power according to their pleasure, except upon occasions of great differences with the bulk of the nation, when it must appear most important to them that they should resist what they deem error.

Such are the monstrous inconsistencies involved in the doctrine that the Lords, whose irresponsible authority is alleged to be a salutary check to democracy, are to be overawed and reduced to submission by a popular majority in the House of Commons. Those who think it right that the Lords should hold a power independent of the people and the crown, cannot reasonably quarrel with the Lords for exercising such power independently, and without regard to any judgments but their own.

When the Lords are called upon to conform to public opinion, they may fairly ask why they are

to vote against their own convictions, and they may observe that, if a harmony with public opinion was required of their institution, the mode of obtaining it is a representative organization. They may, indeed, show the injustice of expecting a conformity with public opinion from a small aristocratic assembly not constituted by public suffrage. The popular representative is elected because his opinions have a general agreement with those of his constituents, and he conscientiously votes in accordance with the prevailing opinions; but the legislative authority descends to the Peer whose opinions may be most strongly opposed to the national sentiments, and erroneous as those opinions may be, yet, as they may be conscientious, what right have we to call upon him to give a vote against his judgment? We have no more right to require a Peer to assent to measures he disapproves, than to require an elector to deliver a suffrage contrary to his real preference, or a judge to decide against his sense of the merits of a case. The nearest parallel, indeed, to the doctrine of those who would maintain the irresponsible power of the Peers, and trust to popular majorities of the Commons to scare the Lords from mischief, is the alleged liability of the independent Judges of America, in wild parts of the union, to Lynch Law. The power of the Lords is more independent than that of the Judges, and the only hopeful resource of the Whigs against the abuse of it is the awe of

popular opinion, which is only felt in its occasional tempests of wrath, and which, when felt, is to compel the Peers to vote against their judgments. It is the indisputable right of the community to withdraw authority from legislators whose views and dispositions are hostile to the national interests, but we contend that, while it permits such legislators to hold authority, it has no right to extort from them falsities in decisions against the opinions they entertain, no matter how erroneously!

Assuming it to be agreed that a Second Chamber is necessary in the present state of things, the people have then, as it seems to us, only to adopt one of two resolutions—either to adhere to the present constitution of the House of Lords, and to submit without more murmurs to its natural evil consequences, such as have in the past session been abundantly exemplified; or to reconstruct it upon the principles of qualification and responsibility. The Tories, with perfect consistency, approve of the constitution of the House of Lords and of the working of it. The Radicals, with equal consistency, allege that, mischievous as the conduct of the institution is, it is but the natural, the necessary fruit of its vicious principle of irresponsibility, and that the only remedy for the evil is to bring the House into harmony with public opinion, by rendering it elective. The majority of the Whigs take their stand between the two, with one foot on sea and one on shore. They

agree with the Radicals as to the mischievous working of the institution; and they agree with the Tories as to the inviolability of its principle. They agree with the Radicals, that no power must be allowed to prevail against the unequivocally expressed will of the people; and they agree with the Tories, that the independent authority of the Peers must be maintained. They agree with the Radicals, that public opinion must be brought to bear on the House of Peers; and they agree with the Tories, that it must not be brought to bear with steadiness and regularity by the appropriate means of electoral machinery. They agree with the Radicals, that the two branches of the Legislature should harmonize; and they agree with the Tories, that their views and motives should be different. And lastly, agreeing with the Tories, that the views and motives of the two Houses should be different, and that the irresponsible body should be a check on the popular assembly, they nevertheless hold, that the grand resource against the result of difference in views and motives is a large majority of the Commons to overrule the House of Lords, and to make it echo the popular will. In brief, the check upon democracy is to be controlled by the democracy. The Whig doctrine ultimately supposes the Lords to be subjected to the electoral power; for, in returning a large majority of Reformers, it is argued that the electors would compel the Lords to consent to the progress

of Reform; but the Whigs, though they rely for safety upon this indirect subjection of the Lords to the electoral power, revolt against the idea of employing the same power in the constitution of the House. Now, considering the ends of legislation; and the only use of a Second Chamber; and also what is due to the Lords themselves; surely it is infinitely better that the Peers of Parliament should be elected, than that they should be coerced by the election of a considerable majority of Reformers to the other House. A House of Lords composed of a hundred members or thereabouts, elected by large constituencies out of the whole Peerage (increased by the creation of liberal men, as it must be, to carry a measure of Reform), would contain a majority having popular dispositions, views, and motives; and generally concurring with the Commons as to objects, they would perform the only service we can recognize in a Second Chamber—namely, that of the revision of measures, for the improvement of them in the spirit of the design. The alleged use of a check to democracy we deny; according to the Tory doctrine such a check brings us to the present dead-lock in legislation, and fixes us there under the obstruction of an oligarchy; according to the Whig doctrine, the check upon the power of the people is to be overcome by the power of the people, a proposition, the absurdity of which appears in the naked terms.

The Whigs complain that the dispositions and opinions of the Lords are obstinately opposed to the popular interests; but yet they would give these dispositions and opinions their scope of mischief till those great questions arise upon which the people exert their energies with enthusiasm, and then the Lords are to succumb, renounce their own judgments, and merely exercise the function of registering the decrees of the Commons. When the national paroxysm has passed away, and the people have sunk to repose again, then the Lords are to rally again and to run another course of mischief. At no time, with dispositions and opinions adverse to the popular interests, can the irresponsible branch of the Legislature perform the use of a Second Chamber in the improvement of measures. The Lords will aggravate the vice of measures severe or unjust to the people; and they will spoil or diminish the efficiency of those of a beneficial character. They will make the bad worse, and they will make the good less good, or mar it altogether. Such would be the tenor of the irresponsible Legislature. But then the Whigs say, let us have a great majority of Reformers in the other House, and we will make the Lords Reformers in spite of themselves—ay, just as much as the cudgel made the woodcutter, in Molière's farce, a physician *malgré lui*. The pretence of conformity may be extorted; but not the spirit, the will, and with them the ability to promote the object in view.

We have so far discussed the Whig view of the Peerage question, without disputing the postulate that the Lords would yield to a large majority of Reformers in the Commons' House; but while they are assured by the Whigs themselves of the inviolability of their institution, what have they to apprehend that can induce them to abandon their present position of hostility to all improvement? If we are told that the effect is to be produced by the opinion of the great body of the nation, we answer, that while the Tory Lords have with them the opinion of the majority of their own order, backed by a minority of the country, they will care little for popular opinion until it threatens to come to some practical conclusion with their House.

It therefore appears to us that the Whigs fallaciously reckon on mastering the dead-lock in the legislative machinery, by the force of a large majority of Reformers in the House of Commons; and, moreover, that if the difficulty could be so conquered, the House of Lords would be reduced to subserviency, and would be worse than useless, for the demoralizing example would be before the country of a body of men voting against their notorious opinions. All this, bad as it is, would be better than the mischief of the present state of things to the nation; but why should either the one or the other evil be preferred to the reform of the institution, which would remove both. It is a folly to allow men to possess irresponsible power, and the folly is very imperfectly corrected by the

injustice of extorting from them decisions against the views they are known to entertain. To maintain men in an independent legislative authority, and then to cast about for expedients to make them vote what they think black white, appears to us a most preposterous combination of the unwise and the unjust. And be it observed that we have no right to the assumption that Tories are always conscious of the error or vice of their policy; and when we see it proposed to awe the Tory Peers into voting against their opinions, we are to bear in mind that those opinions, however illiberal and oligarchical, may be sincerely entertained. The question, then, is, whether it is better to take away the irresponsible power, to the intoxication of which most of the distorted views are referrible —a power always tending to abuse—or to continue the power, with its intoxications and tendency to abuse, sagely relying on the resource of calling in the *posse comitatus* to coerce the inebriated, and prevent a destructive exercise of the authority committed to such hands.

LYNDHURST VERSUS PEEL.

WHAT has become of Sir Robert Peel? Where is he? What is he? What have the Tories done with him? Is he put on the shelf, or cast in the lumber-room? Is he, as Mr Squintum says of worthy Mrs Cole in the *Minor*, worn out and thrown by as a tattered garment? This only is certain, that but for a charitable mention of him now and then in the Liberal papers, he would never be heard or thought of. He is no longer any one's oracle. He is a dead letter—he hardly ever appears in a Tory newspaper—he is as much out of print as out of office; there are remains of him somewhere on the face of the earth, and what are they? A very rich Baronet, representative of a very small borough. We have not a doubt that Mr Hudson, who hunted him less than two years ago, has forgotten him, and thousands of the Tories will meet our enquiries with the question, "Who is he?" and will ask us whether we mean "the man who was Premier, or something or other, some time ago, and who had no grandfather and no pluck." He has been politically made away with, and an inquest ought to be held on the body of his character, notwithstanding the law maxim

de minimis non curat lex. The mention of him in the Tory prints is of less frequency than truth itself, and Tory lips have lost the faculty of pronouncing the word Peel.

> "Oh no! they never mention him,
> His name is never heard;
> Their lips are now forbid to speak
> That once familiar word."

How is this to be explained? Easily enough. Sir Robert Peel has been swallowed up or absorbed by Lord Lyndhurst. The unhappy gentleman had forebodings of the fate that awaited him, and did all he could to avert it, but in vain. In his speech to the Merchant Tailors, on the appropriate text of "measures not men," he made a desperate attempt to save himself from the extinction with which he too clearly saw himself menaced by the Lord Lyndhurst—*it was the only thing that he ever did see clearly before it came to pass.* But mark his words, and see his anxiety to guard himself against the calamity which has overtaken him—

"I warn you that you must not place a firm "reliance upon the prerogative of the Crown—on "the influence or authority of the House of Lords. "The prerogative of the one, the authority of the "other, are constitutionally potent in controlling "the powers of the Lower House, but *you must*

" *not, now-a-days, depend upon them as bulwarks* " *which are impassable, and which can be com-* " *mitted without apprehension to the storm and* " *struggle of events.* The government of the " country, and the mode in which it is conducted, " allow me to tell you, *must mainly depend upon* " *the constitution of the House of Commons;* I " again say, the Royal prerogative, the authority " of the House of Lords, are most useful, nay, " necessary, in our mixed and balanced con- " stitution. *But you must not strain those* " *powers.*"

Sir Robert Peel thus deprecated a desperate struggle in the House of Lords, and argued that the battle was to be fought under his command in the House of Commons, but this plea did not at all suit the Lord Lyndhurst, who found that the best battle in which he himself could be leader. Sir Robert cried, " Don't strain the powers of the " Lords;" but the Lord Lyndhurst said, " A fig " for your fine-spun cotton policy. You want us " to abstain from the triumphs in the Lords which " you cannot achieve in the Commons. I care " not how I strain the powers of the Lords, so that " I strain them to victory under my generalship. " You shall be beaten in the Commons, and I " will be victor in the Lords. Your fair share is " hard blows, and mine the party laurels. A " pretty notion forsooth, that we should not strain

" the power where we have got the power, and, " what is more, where I have got a name to make " that shall eclipse Peel, ay, and Wellington to " boot."

In the language of the *Gazette*, the Lord Lyndhurst is Chief of the Tories, *vicé* Peel superseded. And here we should bestow on Sir Robert some words of pity, some comforting commiseration, if it were not that he has borne himself so abjectly in the matter as to forfeit any claim he might otherwise have to compassion. He has seen the above-quoted principle of policy which he asserted practically spurned, contravened, violently infracted. He has most emphatically given his opinion that the battle should be fought in the Commons' House, and that the powers of the Lords should not be strained. He has seen the opposite course pursued, which he marked in the chart with a wreck-buoy as ruinous, and he has silently submitted, or rather silently acquiesced. As a politician, his neck is under Lord Lyndhurst's foot. In the Tory councils his counsel has been negatived without a division. He has not even *divided* alone against the plan of operation which he showed to be full of danger. He has seen the highest pressure put to the power of the Lords—he has seen the institution strained against the rights of a whole nation. He has seen a couple of hundred irresponsible legislators holding the doors of justice against seven millions of people. He

has seen the weakest branch of the Legislature brand a third of the nation as unworthy of equal rights, and make thousands and thousands of the boldest hearts among us—hearts beating with the blood which has so often crimsoned the banner of victory—thousands and thousands of these hearts have been made to bound against insult, added to the exasperating sense of injustice. The brand of Ireland is the coronet of the British Peerage.

Here has been the proud performance which Lord Lyndhurst may boast in contrast with the defeated attempts of Lord Melbourne. With a word he has raised against his House seven millions of enemies. And Sir Robert Peel has looked on at this tremendous strain upon the institution, and has not made a sign of deprecating the ruinous course which he had so distinctly and emphatically pre-condemned. Nay, the prophet of the evil lends himself as a humble instrument to the fulfilment of it. "Eminent statesman!" consistent politician! Sir Robert Peel's declared policy was to spare the House of Lords, but he has, nevertheless, concurred in his bolder and rasher colleague's plan of making it bear the whole brunt of the battle—nay, not only of putting it in the front of the battle, but of making it spirit up new forces against itself—of making it not only serve as chief combatant in the fight, but also perform the part, with unmatched success, of recruiting-officer to its enemy. It was an exploit, indeed, not only

to beat all Ireland, but also to beat up all Ireland for Peerage Reform. Again we say "Eminent statesmen!"—sage leaders—far-seeing and most consistent politicians! Thus we see that, great as are the notorious differences among the Tory leaders, there is no disunion: for this reason, that the spirit of faction prevails against any sense or notion of Conservative duty.

In Lord Lyndhurst and Sir Robert Peel we have a remarkable example of men out of their seasons. Had Lord Lyndhurst, with his high courage, energy, resource, and resolution, been placed where Mr Peel was, in 1828, 1829, and 1830, the cause of Reform would not be so far advanced as it is now. He would have made a stand with the unabated powers of the Oligarchy, which would have protracted the conflict. His party policy was fitted to the ante-Reform period; that of Sir Robert Peel is fitted to the post-Reform period; but Sir Robert Peel's policy prevailed in the ante-Reform period; and Lord Lyndhurst's has its misapplication in the post. To illustrate the matter, the difference between Sir Robert Peel and Lord Lyndhurst is the difference between the door-hinge and the door-bolt. Lord Lyndhurst, the bolt, holds the door close; Sir Robert Peel, the hinge, with a little creaking, lets it open. Touch him with a few drops of oil on a feather, and he is hardly heard to creak. In the Session

of 1835, measures were passed through the key-hole of the Lords' door, but this year Lord Lyndhurst has stopped the key-hole too. The hinge has preached against this prospectively, has protested that the door must not be held too fast, or that the throng kept out will break it down, or pick the lock, and make a new key; but nevertheless the hinge has not creaked against the practice it holds ruinous.

Jeremy Taylor says that the world is a board with peg-holes, some square and some round, and that certain men, fitted for one state of things and not for another, are square pegs which get into round holes, and round pegs which get into square holes. Nothing can adjust them to their stations, or fix them with any firmness or uprightness. Change their positions, and each is set right; but the change is impossible. So it is with Sir Robert Peel and Lord Lyndhurst. Sir Robert Peel was a smooth round peg, in a sharp-cornered square hole, and Lord Lyndhurst is a rectangular square-cut peg, in a smooth round hole.

THE NEW PLAN OF THE TORIES.

A CURIOUSLY novel plan for the Tories has been suggested by an ingenious writer in *Blackwood's Magazine*, and approved by the other organs of the party. The project is, that the House of Tories should so completely alter its course as to propose something good! This would certainly be doing what it has never yet done, and the boldness and novelty of the design cannot be sufficiently admired.

In Fielding's *Life of Jonathan Wild the Great*, we are told, that "when the story of Cacus was "read to him, he generously pitied the unhappy "fate of that great man, to whom he thought "Hercules much too severe; and one of his "school-fellows commending the dexterity of "drawing the oxen back by their tails [a true "Tory trick] into his den, he smiled, and, with "some disdain, said, '*he could have taught him a "better way.*'"

The Cacus in the House of Lords has hitherto practised the trick of dragging society back by the tail, but a genius like Jonathan Wild the Great smiles with some disdain, and now teaches him "a better way."

Instead of shutting up the Legislature altogether, the project is to open a rival shop—a Waterloo-house—where articles of Reform of the newest pattern may be offered to the public on the lowest terms, by the firm so noted in that line of business, of Lyndhurst, Wellington, and Co. Already are advertised in the *Times* some of the goods to be exhibited on the counter of the Lords, fine gauze Reforms of the Church, and Peel's drab-cotton cover-sluts for the Colonies, Courts of Law, and other departments of the public service, warranted to wear well, and not to show dirt or stains.

The *Times*, which volunteers the office called, in slang phrase, *barker* to the new speculation, nevertheless intimates to the House of Lords, in the most delicate way, that, being a beggared spendthrift, it is high time for it to set up in business; and it advises it to embark in the Bill trade, to issue its promissory notes freely, and leave to the House of Commons the shame of refusing them acceptance. It may be very commonly observed in the world, that when folks have carried the practice of not paying bills of one sort to a certain pitch, they begin to issue bills of another sort with as much freedom and liberality as if they were worth no more than the paper on which they are written, which is, indeed, the exact value put upon them by knowing men. So the House of Tories, after a long course of non-payment, is to begin the business of drawing Bills on the pump at Ald-

gate, but truly miraculous, in such case, will be any draft of gudgeons. However, the accommodation system is to be tried. The promissory note is to be the next and last expedient.

It is quite a pleasure to see the Tories in the hands of the *Times*, which treats them with a tender mercy of the most excruciating kind. When we mark its turns of friendship we think we see a deadly enemy enacting the part of a surgeon, and, with all appearances of the softest touch, and with all expressions of the tenderest concern, using the probe with the effect of the dagger.

The *Times* tells its unhappy patients, the incurables in the Upper House, that "through their "own *delicate abstinence* as regards the exercise "of an *initiative* power, the Government has been "allowed to involve them in the *partial and tem-* "*porary odium* of being nothing better than a "negative agency, *a gaudy and injurious impedi-* "*ment in the path of useful legislation.*"

A better description than this could not be conceived—"a gaudy and injurious impediment in the path of useful legislation;" and with how much unction it is written! With a show of respect and attachment, the obsequious valet of vice holds up to it the mirror, and the rogue inwardly delights at his patron's mortification in seeing his own deformed and abhorred image. He says, indeed, that the odium in which he is involved is "partial and temporary," but these words

are only as the oil to the torturing probe. The language of the *Times* to its party, in plain terms, is this—You have been nothing but obstructive—you have never done any good—you have never proposed any good—you have consequently a perilously bad character, and you must do something to get a better, or you will be utterly ruined.

Can anything be plainer than the biting purport of these passages, in the same print—

"If, therefore, their Lordships wish to stand "right with the country, it is now high time that "they should firmly assert their independent privi- "leges, and exert their *active* legislatorial func- "tions in the origination of such well-considered "measures of Reform in the Church, Colonies, "Courts of Law, and other departments of the "public service, as will not only show the nation "the soundness, efficiency, and extent of the prac- "tical ameliorations which they are prepared to "recommend, but will devolve upon the Com- "mons, in their turn, the responsibility of approv- "ing or rejecting them. What the Lords *will* "*not do* in the way of revolution they have shown "with abundant explicitness. What they *will do* "in the way of safe and seasonable reform "remains, as far as definite measures are con- "cerned, an important *desideratum.* * * * "We would respectfully recommend their Lord- "ships *to alter their position next session*—to exer-

"cise a primary and positive power in legislation "rather than a secondary and negative one—in "other words, to *send down* to the Lower House "of Parliament such bills of their own prepara- "tion, with regard to various important questions "now agitating the public mind, as will at once "manifest the identification of their order with the "more urgent interests of the country, and minis- "ter to their Whig-Radical opponents either the "wormwood of accepting these bills, or the dis- "grace of factiously rejecting them."

Alter your position; do what you never have done; begin to propose some small good;—such is the pith of the exhortation, and a stronger direct reflection on the character and conduct of the party could not be conceived. All the severity of satire is surpassed by the advice to the Tories to adopt the entirely new plan, in 1837, of proposing measures beneficial to the people. What then have they been doing up to this time? But it may be pretended that this counsel and involved censure applies only to the House of Lords, which, through its "*delicate abstinence* as regards the exercise of an initiative power," is plunged in the partial and temporary odium of "a gaudy and injurious impediment in the path of useful legislation." But the imputation cannot be limited to the Lords, for the same party in the Commons has, since the year 1829, practised precisely the same "delicate abstinence" as regards the exercise

of an initiative power to any popular purpose. What single measure desired or approved by the people has been proposed on the Tory side of the House of Commons? But they are to make a beginning now—so says *Blackwood*, and so argues the *Times*. The course of mischief having been run to the verge of ruin, they are to try their hands at something good. This is more easily said than done? The arch enemy of mankind might as well be invited to do some good by way of a change. The work of improvement requires an apprenticeship not to be had in Pandemonium.

When the sign-painter, who, according to Joe Miller, had been employed all his life in painting red lions, received an order to paint an angel, he, after many suggestions in favour of red lions as a more thirsty sign, at last consented, saying, "I suppose I must paint an angel, as you insist "upon it; but I fairly tell you that she will look "confoundedly like a red lion." And so it will be with the new sign hung up by the Tories; their angel will look confoundedly like their old red lion; their good will bear a most formidable likeness to evil.

Fontaine's motherly crab, observing the crooked gait of her crab daughter, cries out—

"Comme tu vas, bon dieu! ne peux tu marcher droit?
Et comme vous allez vous même! dit la fille:
Puis-je autrement marcher que ne fait ma famille,
Veut-on que j'aille droit quand on y va tortu?" *

* "How you walk! good heavens! can't you walk straight?"

It is very easy for the old crabs of *Blackwood* and the *Times* to cry to the Tory crabs, "How you walk!" and to exhort them to a straight course; but the Tory crabs can only hold the confirmed crooked gait of their race.

After all, we doubt whether the Tories have really got to Jonathan Wild's improvement on the trick of Cacus; nay, on second thoughts, it seems clear to us that the new project is but the old original stratagem of Cacus, to drag the flocks of the ancient Reformer Hercules backward by the tail into his slaughter-house, so that by their traces they might deceitfully appear to have taken a forward instead of a retrograde course. Now the Tory design is, transparently enough, to drag things back in such manner that they may delusively appear on the advance; and the party should be called the Cacus party, after their great original. Indeed, nothing is more certain than that Cacus was the first Tory, the father, the prototype of Tories, and the most celebrated of thieves. He lived in a house exactly like the House of Lords, very dark, utterly inaccessible to enlightenment, and in which nothing but destruction went on. Virgil describes the place so distinctly, that it is impossible not to recognise it at this day in Westminster—

—"And how you walk yourself," answered the daughter. "Can I walk differently from the rest of my family, and would they have me go straight when they go crooked?"

> " Solis inaccessam radiis; semperque recenti
> Caede tepebat humus; foribusque affixa superbis
> Ora vitûm tristi pendebant pallida tabo."

The House of Mischief, the den of darkness and destruction, was never so accurately painted.

This Cacus was the son of the forger of thunderbolts—not the Editor of the *Times*, but Vulcan, who was flung out of heaven for misbehaviour, and had a fall not much short of that of Mrs Graham, as he was about it from sun-rise to sun-set by his own account, or there is no truth in Homer. Jove took the father of Cacus by the heels, and pitched him out of the Upper House called Olympus, and lamed him for life; and the children of Cacus, at the present instant, with the propensity of their race, are courting the same fate. It is an incurably bad breed.

Cacus, according to some authorities, had three heads, like the Tory party, with its Lyndhurst, Wellington, and Peel, before the last was deposed as too soft, and when he was attacked by the Reformer Hercules he endeavoured to escape by making a vast smoke (*fumiferam noctem*), which is precisely what his children are now attempting, for darkness is the great ally of all the race; Hercules, however, was not to be baffled, and rushed in upon the monster "*incendia vana vomentem*," that is to say, in vain playing the incendiary, as some of his family are at this instant doing as to the Poor Laws, and crushed him to death.

VON RAUMER'S ENGLAND.

We have read this book with great gratitude for the good things in it (that is, with much thankfulness for small mercies), which have enabled us to struggle on through the abundance of platitudes and common-places to the conclusion. The author reminds us of Madame Roland's description of a certain orator—"Il debitait des choses communes du ton d'un inspiré; il les appuyait des gestes si terribles, qu'il persuadait à beaucoup de gens qu'elles étaiet belles." Herr Von Raumer delivers common-places with an air, indeed, of superhuman wisdom, and he succeeds in imposing, for there are folks here who find an excellence in every trite or vapid observation. If the laborious and learned historian amplifies a maxim of prudence, such as serves for the text of a copy book, the diatribe is cried up as a miracle of wisdom. Herr Von Raumer is especially great in safe propositions; when he gets upon truisms, he puts them on their sides of good or evil with an air of intrepid judgment wonderfully imposing. Take this example, one out of many such:—

"There are fools in all parties, but the genuine

" Tory is right in opposing the destruction of the " Christian Church; and the genuine Whig is right " in affirming that it is not the mere reading of a " liturgy which constitutes a Christian Church, " but the careful training and instruction of youth. " God grant that these opposite lines may at length " produce the true diagonals of the forces, the just " mean motion! I have no inclination to meddle " with revolutions, but it is my hope and my faith, " that *mind is more than body, knowledge better* " *than ignorance, civilization than barbarism, free-* " *dom than slavery. Would Britons change for* " *the better by becoming Kalmucs and Bashkirs:* " *by learning to acknowledge, not the Ruler of the* " *Universe, but the knout, as their immediate sove-* " *reign and lord?* People cant a great deal (even " in England) about election by grace; but is it " not the most profound and inexplicable of all " mysteries—yet to be received with humility and " gratitude—that man should be born endowed " with all the powers and faculties of humanity; *born* " *a Briton or German, and not a Kamschatkadale;* " born in our often-calumniated days, and not under " the Seleucidæ, the Roman Emperors, in the time " of the migrations of nations, of the Mongolian " devastations, of the Thirty years' war? Nobody " has a greater horror than I of the excrescences of " the French and other revolutions; *yet the truth* " *of what I say is incontrovertible, in spite of all*

" *malcontents*, whether saints or sinners."—Vol. i, pp. 9, 10.

Here are truths indeed, the rich stores of a round-text copy book showered upon us—" Mind " is more than body, knowledge better than igno- " rance, civilization than barbarism, freedom than " slavery ! " Then, with what profound drift the question is raised, whether it is better to be a Briton or a Kalmuc, and whether obedience to heaven or the knout is preferable. And though Herr Von Raumer has a horror of the excrescences of the French Revolution, yet he can assert all these bold truths without fear of contradiction, and in spite of all malcontents ! We believe him. He is quite safe.

Let us pass to another specimen; a grand result of Herr Von Raumer's historical and theological researches:—

" My historical and theological researches have " tended to produce the most intimate conviction " in my mind that *every kind of fanaticism is per-* " *nicious; that charity and patience are more* " *efficient teachers than force and exclusiveness;* " *that all Christian sects arise from the same well-* " *spring* of mercy and redemption; and that some " *diversities of opinion may and ought to be* " *tolerated.*"—Vol. i, pp. 68, 69.

A man has not read for nothing, indeed, who has studied history and theology to such purpose

as to have convinced himself that "every kind of fanaticism is pernicious," that "charity and patience are (oh wonderful!) more efficient teachers than force and exclusiveness," and that "some diversities of opinion may and ought to be tolerated!" Here are truths for four copy-book texts, and if there be a Tory bigot in the land after such a revelation, Herr Von Raumer should be much surprised. But, alas! there is nothing new under the sun, and the idea of a philosopher like Herr Von Raumer has been anticipated in a song by Mr Poole, setting forth the discoveries of the erudite and profound Simon Bore, who stripped the tree of knowledge of every leaf:—

"Hay is brought to town in carts;
Ham sandwiches ar'n't made of tin;
They don't feed cows on apple tarts,
Nor wear gilt spurs upon the chin;
Bullocks don't wear opera hats,
Fiddles are not made of cheese;
Nor pigeon pies of water rats;
Boil'd salmon does not grow on trees.

Kittens are but little cats;
Mouse traps are not county gaols;
Whales are full as large as sprats;
They don't stuff geese with copper nails;
A German waltz is not a hymn;
The French are mostly born in France;
Fishes ar'n't afraid to swim;
And turkies seldom learn to dance."

Like Polonius, Herr Von Raumer will find where truth be hid, though it be hid within the centre, and he penetrates the cause of the rise and fall of parties with unerring sagacity. Who can gainsay this position?—

"Had the Tories *always done the right thing at* "*the right time, the Whigs would never have come* "*into power.*"

Herr Von Raumer not only sees why parties flourish and decay, but he also discerns the easiest means of disposing of all their embarrassments. Writing, in April 1835, upon the difficulties of the newly-formed Melbourne Ministry, he says:—

"To a man who is placed without this English "party circle, what is here thought impossible "appears so easy. *If Whigs and Tories would* "*agree on the only wise and just policy with regard* "*to the Catholics, there were an end to all talk of* "*injustice, spoliation, agitation, rebellion, and* "*what not.* If they will not, no Ministry can last, "whoever be at its head."—Vol. i, p. 162.

How easy the solution by this profound mind—"If Whigs and Tories would agree on the only wise and just policy with regard to the Catholics." Ah! if they would agree—but there is a virtue in the *if* which there is not in the Tories.

This voice from Germany is something more than the voice of man, it is the voice of Minerva herself. And yet it is familiar to our ears as the *Vox Stellarum*, or the voice of Mr Francis Moore, the

prophet, in the Loyal Almanack of old. Persons who remember the style of that safe oracle will recognize the similarity, both in the substance and manner of the above-quoted examples.

In the following passage on concessions there are some sensible observations, given out, as usual, with a very oracular pretension; but it does not end without one of those sage saws which leave a question exactly where they found it:—"Let every "man," says our profound German, "who has a "share in public affairs, exert his understanding "to the utmost, and lay aside his prejudices, that "he may see *where* it is fit to concede, and where "to withhold."

What does this come to but, do what you think right. All turns upon the notions of right. To invite men to lay aside their prejudices is like inviting a leopard to lay aside his spots. The last discovery which people make is that of their prejudices:—

"What can I say when well-meaning, and, in "other respects, sensible men daily preach to me, "that in a State (and more especially in England,) "nothing whatever must be conceded, because "every concession excites fresh demands, and "general ruin will be the inevitable consequence.

"When such saws as this appear to my adver-"sary pregnant with truth and wisdom,—when "they seem to him the point from which the world "can be firmly held together, while I, on the con-

" trary, think them absolutely null,—'without " form and void,'—how can we come to any under- " standing? I must doubt, if I do not contest, " every word he says. In the first place, what " does he mean by 'concede?' Do I 'concede' " that only which is entirely dependent on my own " will? But what in the world does depend on " one will, without reference to the wills of others? " Or if I concede that only which is agreeable to " me, why, then, all one can say is, that the un- " conceded comes to pass quite as often as the " conceded. Is it with my consent that time rolls " on, and that everything changes with time? Did " the Pope consent to the Reformation, or did his " non-consenting retard it? Did the Venetians " consent to the new direction taken by the com- " merce of the world, or did the English 'con- " cede' independence to America? If concession " depends upon individual will, that surely has its " limits. Within these limits I may have some " influence; without them, my efforts are but " wasted.

" The first question therefore is, how far our " powers extend; and this is the true starting " point of all political inquiries. The impossible " can never be a rational object of endeavour. " When this first question is decided, the next " that offers itself is, what is right or just? If I " owe a man a hundred pounds and have not a " farthing, I cannot, in practice, 'concede' to him

" what I owe; but my inability in no way affects " his right. If I say, 'If I grant him ten pounds, " he will only ask for more and more, till at last " I shall be obliged to pay him the whole hundred— " therefore I had better grant nothing,' I am a " fool or a knave, or both.

" In like manner, in public affairs, a concession " is generally the consequence of a demand; and " neither is the result of any individual will. The " formal right of expressing the will (such as that " possessed by the Lords, or the King, of throw- " ing Bills) has no effect in deciding the thing, " and gives no answer to the question of wisdom " or folly, justice or injustice. It is often main- " tained in letter, when it is dead in spirit. Such " maxims as, that a government ought to grant no " demand, or to grant every demand, are equally " null. Because it is possible that the concession " of a just demand may be followed by an absurd " and unjust one, I am in no degree absolved from " the first;—on the contrary, the concession of the " just is precisely what will give me strength to " withhold the unjust. When, on the other hand, " one just principle gives birth to a whole series " of new conclusions, we ought not to be alarmed, " but should learn to understand how and why " such was the natural, the inevitable, and the pro- " per result. This ensued upon the abolition of " the slave-trade, of villanage, of commercial " restrictions, of exclusive class or corporate privi-

" leges, and so on. New forms of disease, as well " as new vital energies, are doubtless connected " with every new stage of development, but the " latter cannot be repressed, nor can the former be " cured, with old nostrums.

" Never was a universal ruin brought about by " the concession of what was just and suited to the " age (which, indeed, inquiry proves to be identi- " cal); what was destroyed by such means had " lived out its life. Never, on the contrary, have " senseless and untimely changes borne the fruits " hoped for by lovers of revolution. Therefore " *let every man who has a share in public affairs* " *exert his understanding to the utmost, and lay* " *aside his prejudices, that he may see where it is* " *fit to concede and where to withhold;* and not " fancy himself a statesman because he can repeat " a few phrases out of Haller or Bentham.

" General changes, moreover, are not effected " by mere personal springs of action. If Luther's " opposition to the sale of indulgences proceeded " (as some Catholics falsely assert) only from envy " and avarice, the Reformation would not the less " remain a mighty turn in human affairs—an event " belonging to universal history. Supposing that " O'Connell's efforts in behalf of his countrymen " spring from ambition or from avarice,—the dis- " covery or the proclamation of this fact will " neither tranquillize Ireland, nor settle the ques- " tion of the justice or injustice of their demands.

" If immoral springs of action are really at work, " the way to render them impotent is to withhold " nothing that ought to be granted."—Vol. i, pp. 183, 184, 185, 186.

Herr Von Raumer is a professor of the *juste milieu;* he is opposed both to Tories and Radicals, but obviously with a much stronger hostility to the latter, whose conduct and principles he abuses with the more freedom in vague generalities, because he knows nothing whatever about them, and the phantom against which he rails is conjured up only in his own fancy. For instance, he seems to come to the conclusion that Mr Grote is not a Radical (vol. i, p. 299), because his conduct and objects are utterly different from those of the Jacobins of 1792. Now we ask where any Radicals are to be found whose conduct and objects are similar to those of the Jacobins in 1792; and further, we have only to say, that if Mr Grote is not a Radical, no men of our opinions come under the description. The Ballot, the repeal of the Septennial Act, and completion of Parliamentary Reform, including the Reform of the House of Lords, are the distinctive articles of the Radical creed.

The opinions of Herr Von Raumer agree most nearly with the Whigs, and with Whigs he seems to have chiefly associated during his stay in England. There have been periods when a visitor, with his Whig affections (whose manuscript was to be corrected by the Chancellor of the Exche-

quer), might have been excused for a little animosity towards the Radicals, who, very properly, much pressed and much galled the backward Government of Lord Grey, but certainly the year 1835 was not the time when a friend of the Whigs could be expected to take alarm at the conduct of the Radical party, and to ascribe to them all wild and dangerous principles and purposes. When Von Raumer was in England, he saw the Radicals steadily supporting the Ministry, in whose principles, so far as they went, they concurred, and in whose just purposes they had reason to confide; and we defy the German historiker to adduce an instance in which the Radicals have shown any impatience or imprudence, or created any embarrassment, since they have seen cause to rely on the dispositions of the Government. No good Whig will deny that the Radicals have acted with generosity and with signal moderation, asking nothing, seeking nothing in return for the support rendered to their allies in office, but the promotion of the great interests of the empire. It would be unpleasant to think that Von Raumer had, under the circumstances referred to, derived his false notion of the Radicals from any of the party to which he inclines, and it is probable that he came to England with a stock of prejudices which closed his mind against the impression of the facts lying broadly before him. He has to learn that the Whig measures which he approves are all founded

on principles belonging to Radicalism, and that the principle of appropriating to moral uses the surplus wealth of the Irish Church, upon which this Ministry holds office, was a principle maintained by the Radicals against the Whig Administration of Lord Grey.

Clear it is that Von Raumer knows not of what he writes when he touches upon party subjects. For example, he says that when Sir F. Burdett became a supporter of Canning, Lord Grey thought himself justified in a course of continued opposition, and adds, "He would not suffer himself to be led or driven further on the side of liberalism." Why who does not know, except the historian Von Raumer, that Lord Grey withheld his support because he had no faith in the liberalism of Mr Canning — because Mr Canning would not make the emancipation of the Catholics a principle of his government — because Mr Canning was opposed to the repeal of the Test Acts—and because, as he, Lord Grey, alleged, there had not been an invasion of civil liberty of which Mr Canning had not been the advocate or apologist? Was this then, as Von Raumer states, shrinking from all alliance from an apprehension of excess on the side of liberalism; or was it the refusal of confidence because sufficient advances were not to be expected? That Lord Grey carried the Reform Bill Herr Von Raumer must needs know, but probably he opines that Mr Can-

ning was ultra-liberal in making as strong a stand for the corrupt House, as afterwards ruined the Duke of Wellington. Our traveller, in proof of the character of Lord Grey's politics, makes the startling discovery that "the other day a coalition "between him and the Duke of Wellington was "confidently talked of," and he sagely adds, " "thing which, a few years ago, would have been "thought impossible." When was it not thought impossible, we should like to know? We pass to another example of the historian's information. He says that, in the autumn of 1834, when Lords Brougham and Durham were at variance, and Lord Althorp had resigned, and the Irish members were discontented, the necessity for change (of Ministers) was manifest, and Lord Melbourne was the last person who could deny it. All who have watched the frank and straightforward public character of Lord Melbourne must know full well that, if he had been the last man who could deny the necessity for a change, he would have been the first to apprise his Majesty of such a necessity, and would not have contented himself with proposing an arrangement to supply the place of Lord Althorp.

To crown his absurdity, our visitor proceeds to say that—

"According to the assertions of many, as to "Peel's inclination towards Reform, he, perhaps, "might have succeeded to Lord Althorp; or, if it

"were impossible to act in concert, the Whigs "must have seen their own weakness, and re- "signed."—Vol. i. pp. 21, 22.

The Melbourne Ministry of the present hour is nearly the same as the Ministry dismissed in 1834. Its strength is in its principles and purposes, which have united all Reformers in the hearty support of it—an effect which is gaining over many others who have no great love of Reform, but who yet have the wisdom to see that the peace of society is concerned in the harmony of the moving powers, and that a moderation results from the present alliance of the liberals of different degrees, which would not exist if the bonds of a common policy were loosed.

What produced ferment in the autumn of 1834? —the unaccountable statements of Lord Brougham, that too much rather than too little had been done in the preceding session, and that less was to be expected in the next—that, in short, the drag-chain was to be put on. What has allayed irritation and turned impatience to moderation?—the evidence that the Government is resolved to proceed steadily in the redress of grievances, and the work of political amelioration. The Tories blundered in the *coup d'état* of 1834, but to greater causes than their error the present union of Reformers, with its happy consequences, is referrible. It depends not on the faults of our enemies, but on the merits of our friends.

Von Raumer in divers places seizes occasion to make contemptuous mention of Bentham, of whom he is pleased to say off-hand that he was "certainly no philosopher in the higher sense of the word;" and he condemns the Utilitarian Philosophy without troubling himself to explain what it is, a thing which he certainly could not conveniently do without a knowledge of it, which we suspect he altogether wants. "I have read Aristotle, and he is not such a fool as I thought him," said the ingenuous youth in Addison's story. Herr Von Raumer probably not having read Bentham, is quite persuaded of his folly. With great goodness his fair translator, Mrs Austin, says a few words in behalf of Bentham, and vouches for the warmth, singleness, and kindness of his heart—qualities which might, indeed, consist with all that the German charges against his wisdom. It was not with such tribute that Bentham was sought in his lifetime, even by those beyond whose province it was to judge of speculative systems of politics and ethics.

We quote the passage referred to in the translator's preface:—

"The name of Mr Bentham occurs not unfre-
"quently in the work, as the supposed representa-
"tive of the opinions of an existing party, and
"always accompanied with expressions of disappro-
"bation or of contempt. I have constantly omitted
"it when used in this manner, and have only

" inserted it in one place, where some remarks on " Mr Bentham's opinions occur. Allusions and " insinuations, founded on what I believe to be an " entire misapprehension of the character and sen- " timents of Mr Bentham, were, as I thought, " neither instructive nor convincing; and to me, " who had much cause to know the warmth, single- " ness and kindness of heart of the venerable man " of whom Herr Von Raumer has conceived such " erroneous impressions, would have been, I con- " fess, most painful to write. I am anxious, how- " ever, that this unfairness, if such it be, should " be understood to be the effect of grateful and " affectionate regard for the memory of a revered " friend, and to have no relation to speculative " systems of politics and ethics, which it is quite " beyond my objects and my province to affect to " judge."—p. 13.

Out of nearly 1000 pages, we think we can pick about 20 which will do credit to the judgment and observation of Herr Von Raumer, and we are nursing up about half a page, or little short of it, which contains a good original reflection. The rest is made up of amplified truisms, such as we have exhibited; of judgments, some of which, perhaps, as a set-off to the trite truths, have no truth in them; and others which, having truth, have little force beyond that of assertion, in which Von Raumer is always as strong as Sancho Panza's family of the Positives—of long dull accounts of past measures—

and a vast number of unimpressive remarks on a vast variety of subjects, strangely jumbled together.

Herr Von Raumer must be the identical German who jumped over chairs and tables to make himself gay. What a sprightliness of thought, after that operose manner, there is in the opening passage of this book—

"We Germans say, 'A man's will is his "heaven:' if so, I must be on my way thither, "since my will to travel in England is about to be "fulfilled. As yet, however, I do not see para- "dise quite so clearly open before me; and had "not fatigue sometimes put an end to all reflec- "tion on the road, I should perhaps have come to "the conclusion that travelling is, on many "accounts, a mere madness. The longer we live "the more we find that heaven is by no means to "be expected from any single act, resolution, or "event; but if any gleam of it is to be enjoyed in "this world, it must be from a combination of a "great number of circumstances, pursuits, and "occupations."

Here is a fine piece of illustration cast in lead:—

"I would compare England to a beautiful statue, "upon which all kinds of black flies are crawling; "the Radicals would kill them by violence, but "would thereby produce offensive stains; the Ultra "Tories say they belong to the statue, and

" heighten its beauty by the contrast of black and " white. The Whigs want to blow them away, " but then the Tories, in order to prevent it, hold " their hands before them, at which the flies are " either frightened and fly away, or, when their " time is come, become faint and fall to the ground " and perish."—Vol. iii. p. 73.

" Oh, heavy lightness, serious vanity, feather of lead!" The elaborateness of that last sentence, the flies becoming faint under the German imagination, is especially admirable.

The character of the book is excellently illustrated by the table of contents, so rich in subjects, while the pages referred to are so meagre in treatment of them. For example, we see promised in one letter the topics of Lord Brougham—Mr O'Connell—and the Prospects of England. We turn to the page and find this upon Lord Brougham:—

" Even the popular talent of so distinguished a " mind as Brougham's wears itself out, because " it sometimes trusts more to rhetoric than to " truth."—Vol. ii. p. 257.

Mr O'Connell has six more lines of notice:—

" O'Connell, on the other hand, whenever his " powers fail him, lays himself down on the soil of " his injured country, and rises, like a new " Antæus, to fresh struggles. This is the " secret of his strength; and it extends as far as " he has reason on his side. Hence, when he

" proposed the Repeal of the Union, his power " vanished with the justice of his cause, and he " was driven out of the field by Mr Spring Rice, " backed by a large majority."—Vol ii. p. 257.

But now comes the grand subject, the Prospects of England:—

" While many of our continental augurs (I " cannot help returning to them) see nothing " here but confusion, crime, and misery, I am " much more inclined to apply Ariosto's celebrated " stanzas on the frankness and loyalty of the " old knightly times. Peel and Russell, who " have mutually unseated each other in the lists, " now unite in the new Municipal Reforms; and a " majority of members combine to carry one of " the most important measures, without mingling " any passion or party rancour in these instruc- " tive and necessary discussions. Let the great " prophet of Berlin then do the like, and spare " his Jeremiades for another time. If he says, " that time may come—I reply, that he knows " no more of the future than others who persist in " applying a French measure to English affairs." —Vol. ii. pp. 257, 258.

If these are the prospects of England, alas! England has no prospects. It is all blank.

The historical accuracy is as remarkable as the breadth and comprehensiveness of the view. The world is told that Peel and Russell united in the new Municipal Reforms, and that no party rancour

SIR ROBERT PEEL'S MANIFESTO.

In an address to the electors of Tamworth, Sir Robert Péel has presented what he is pleased to describe as "a frank exposition of the general principles and views" of the Government. He evidently feels that it is necessary to give some reason for the openness he affects, and, therefore, he intimates that nothing is to be gained by false professions. This passage is curiously characteristic: having declared his modest persuasion that his opinions will enable him to establish a claim on the public confidence, he proceeds—

"I have the firmest conviction that that confi-
" dence cannot be secured by any other course
" than that of frank and explicit declarations of
" principle—that *vague and unmeaning professions*
" of popular opinions may quiet distrust for a time,
" may influence this or that election, but that *such*
" *professions must ultimately and signally fail if,*
" *being made, they are not adhered to, or if they*
" *are inconsistent with the honour and character*
" *of those who make them.*"

Is this the only ground of belief upon which the Prime Minister of England can take his stand—that hollow professions cannot succeed, and that,

therefore, his declarations are "frank and explicit." The reasoning amounts to this:—"I will deal "honestly with you, having the firmest conviction "that nothing is to be got by any other course." So Fielding records of his great man, Jonathan Wild, that he resolved to act honestly on one occasion, having, on the maturest deliberation, come to the conclusion that no advantage could be obtained by an opposite line of conduct. Sir Robert's is certainly not the high tone of morality which inspires confidence. In ordinary life, one would hardly be disposed to trust a man who claimed credit for his professions on such grounds. When a man tells us that he is honest according to his notions of the best policy, we are apt to apprehend that his notions of the best policy may vary, and that with them his morality of convenience may change.

The depressed tone, almost to abjectness, of Sir Robert Peel's manifesto, is especially remarkable—it has far more the manner of a culprit's defence than of a Prime Minister's claims to a nation's confidence; indeed, though in the commencement of his address he talks of establishing a claim on public confidence, yet, after making the best parade of his pretensions, he is rendered so sensible of the weakness of his case, so overpowering is the truth, that he concludes with a whine, begging the people to give "the Minister of the King's choice not an implicit confidence, but a fair trial."

" advantage from his kindness for the German " edition. I have hitherto kept back the difficult " chapter on the finances, because I was not " satisfied with it. All doubts and difficulties will " now be happily removed."—Vol. iii. pp. 160, 161.

This is the first time that we have seen the Chancellor of the Exchequer described as the first English Minister, but perhaps, as the veritable Amphitryon is he with whom one dines, the first Minister, in Von Raumer's opinion, is he who corrects his manuscript.

THE END.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY C. AND W. REYNELL,
LITTLE PULTENEY STREET.

INDEX.

Almack's, influence of, on attendance in Parliament, i. 238.

Althorp, Lord, his logic against short parliaments, ii. 375. On newspaper stamp duties, iii. 50 and 53. Resigns his office under the Grey government, iii. 79. His speech on the grant of an annuity to Mr Canning's family, i. 155. His affair with Mr Hulton, ii. 145. His approval of Mr Manners Sutton as speaker of the first reformed House of Commons, ii. 320. A theorist, ii. 321, 324. His attempt to shuffle off a repeal of the newspaper stamp duties, iii. 53.

Anticipation, or extracts from a future dictionary of antiquities, ii. 190, 194.

Aristocracy, according to Sir Robert Peel, should be maintained at the national expense, i. 164. Imaginary appeal of Mr Goulburn on behalf of, i. 165.

Art, the black, ii. 142, 145.

Bacon, Lord, on the definition of words, i. 194.

Ballot, the, advantages of, maintained, and objections to it answered, ii. 289, 299. A key to the question of, ii. 308, 317. The effect of, against the aristocratic influences, i. 289. Mr Tyler's fee-fa-fum objections to, ii. 10. Sir R. Wilson and Mr D. W. Harvey adverse to, ii. 14.

Bar, irritability of the, i. 59.

Bathurst, Lord, resigns office February 1826, i. 8. His character, i. 128.

Bayley, Judge, his opinion on gamekeepers carrying arms against poachers, i. 121.

Beer Act, and interference with popular amusements, ii. 172.

Beer houses, the magistracy against, iii. 43. Lord Brougham's horror of, in lonely places, iii. 47. Beggars, a very ancient family, i. 211.

Bentham, Jeremy, his observations on hastiness in a judge, i. 60, 62. His opinion on fines, i. 79. His suggestion for rendering establishments useless, iii. 5.

Best, Judge, his notions on the liberty of the press, i. 93. His charge in Stickney v. Clement, i. 104

Berbiquier, M. his book on hobgoblins, i. 98. His action at law against a libeller, i. 99, 102.

Bexley, Lord, resigns office February 1826, i. 8. His character, i. 129.

Biography à-la-mode, ii. 180, 186.

Birmingham morality, ii. 186, 190.

Bishop, definition of the word, ii. 191.

Bishops', the, church reform described, iii. 208, 212.

Bishops, question of their expulsion from the legislature, iii. 26, 29.

Bloomfield, Bishop, his Sunday ordinances, iii. 13. His counting the boats passing Putney bridge on a Sunday, iii. 13.

Bonin, M. his lament for the Polignac ministry, i. 229.

Borough or burrow, why so called, ii. 192.

Boroughmongers, not to be wheedled, ii. 106, 110.

Bourbon claims to respect, ii. 23 to 25.

Brougham, Mr (now Lord), accepts the character of the Duke of Wellington as a pledge for improved government, i. 149. His

faith in the Duke, i. 152. His test of elegibility for the Bench, i. 292. Speech of, on the Middlesex petition against capital punishments, ii. 162. His speech against the clergy of Durham, ii. 178. Boasts in the House of Lords of having made a *demonstration* against ballot whilst in the Commons, ii. 288. His defence of the church establishment, iii. 6. On O'Connell's mendicancy, iii. 40. On licensing and beer houses, iii. 46. His rudeness to the peers, iii. 91. His sneer at the Duke of Cumberland, iii. 95. His subsequent panegyric on the House of Peers, iii. 95. His visit to the north, iii. 98, 104. His doings at Inverness, iii. 98. Talks of the King's condescension, and suggests the idea of Reeve in Magog, iii. 100. His dinner circuit continued, iii. 105 to 118. His speeches deprecatory of the government's being urged on too fast, iii. 111, 112. Lord Durham's rebuke of him at Edinburgh, iii. 114.

Brunel, Mr, his example, i. 27.

Brutalities of the high and low compared, ii. 259.

Buckingham, the Duke of, his contemptuous objections to the metropolitan boroughs, ii. 256, 258.

Buckingham, Mr, on episcopal legislation, iii. 27. On impressment, iii. 33.

Bullet-firing on mobs, the regulation of the Peel government respecting, iii. 197.

Bulwer, Mr E. L. his motion for repeal of newspaper stamp duties, iii. 50. His services to the Melbourne ministry, iii. 220.

Burdett, Sir F. on Collins's attack on the King, ii. 270. Discovers that the Duke of Wellington, as a soldier, is well fitted for the government, i. 149. His support of Mr Canning, i. 28.

Burke, Hon. E. the Edinburgh Review on, i. 169.

Camden, Marquis, his remarks on the want of harmony in Lord Liverpool's ministry, i. 11.

Candidates, electioneering, declaim from habit, without any meaning, i. 5.

Canning, Rt. Hon. George, entrusted with the formation of a new administration, after the illness of Lord Liverpool, i. 8. His opinion on the resignation of the seven ministers in February, 1826. His Jesuitical remarks on Catholic emancipation, i. 13. On coming into office, i. 14. Strictures on his career of opposition to reform, i. 16. Anticipations of his pursuing a more liberal course, i. 17. Attaches too much value to aristocratic connections, i. 18. The factious envy of the "outs" against him subsides, i. 20. Raised the hopes of the advocates of a better system, but could not have their confidence, i. 22. On the consistency of his supporters, i. 25, 29. The policy of his supporters, i. 30, 34. On the support given to him taking an injudicious turn, i. 30. The situation of his ministry compared to that of a lady in the straw, i. 31, 32. Leading Whigs discover disposition to yield to his worst bias, i. 32. True policy of his Whig supporters to oppose his Tory propensities. His death, i. 41. His loss at the period deplored, i. 41. Speculations as to his career had he lived, i. 42. Rejoicings of his enemies, i. 43. Consequences of his death abroad, i. 43. Was the apologist of the crimes of authority, i. 44. His genius, i. 45. Tide of opinion on, i. 156, 159.

Canning's administration. Mr Canning appointed to form an administration, i. 8. Views with regard to this, of the seven old ministers who retired, i. 10. The concert with which the seven acted, i. 10.

Canterbury, the Archbishop of, sets about the ordering of pluralities with moderation, ii. 276.

Carmarthen labourers, fined for apple-stealing, i. 80.

Catholic Emancipation, Rev. S. Smith's article on, i. 215. The passing of the act of, i. 216.
Chancellor, meaning of the word, ii. 193.
Chancery, Court of, scene in, ii. 164.
Church (the) compared to Pantagruel, iii. 59. Supposed use of the establishment in keeping down fanaticism, iii. 11. Explanation of the wealth of, i. 65 to 67.
Church reform, the Bishops' plan of, iii. 208. As it is and as it should be, ii. 273, 281.
Church (the Irish) the first bill for the reform of, examined, ii. 344, 358, compared to a feasted Esquimaux, iii. 230. Temporalities Bill, ii. 235, 243. Effects of Mr Ward's motion for reducing its establishment, iii. 65.
Civilization, the progress of, exemplified in Turkey, i. 45, 54.
Clergy, the, their devotion to wealth, i. 66. Comparison of the higher order to the mouse in the meal tub, i. 66.
Coercion act, (the Irish) a scheme for establishing a despotism in Ireland, ii. 324, 333. The case of, made our own, ii. 333, 343.
Collins (the sailor), his attack on the King, ii. 270.
Confidence in Ministers, ii. 141.
Constitution, one, according to metaphor, ii. 89, 98.
Corder, the murderer, ridiculous form of indictment, i. 179.
Corn Laws, the, Mr Hume's motion to alter, i. 163. Aristocratic reasons for maintaining, i. 164, 168.
Courier, Paul Louis, traits of his character and genius, ii. 59 to 78.
Croker, or croaker, definition of the word, ii. 191.
Customs, what, ii. 192.

Destructive Lords, the, their reception of the Irish municipal reform bill, iii. 289, 300.
Detrimentals, secession of from the Grey ministry, iii. 65.
Dissenters, Lord Grey and the Nottingham deputation of, iii. 20.
Divine, the word explained, ii. 192.
Divine favour, as referred to by Mendez Pinto, on his success in piracy, i. 53.
Divinity, the New (gate) school of, i. 308 to 311.
Drunkenness, the Commons' Committee on, iii. 85.
Dudley, Lord, a guarantee to Mr Huskisson, for the principles of the Wellington Administration, i. 137.
Duke, a, melancholy case of, i. 221.
Durham, Lord, his statesmanlike comprehension, and superiority to party views, ii. 384. His own account of the framing of the first Reform Bill, ii. 385. His rebuke to Lord Brougham at Edinburgh, iii. 114.
Duties, meaning of the word, ii. 191.

Edinburgh Review, on the qualifications of statesmen, i. 169. On the signs of the times in 1828, i. 219.
Eldon, Lord, resigns on the appointment of Mr Canning to be prime minister, i. 8. His confidence in the absence of direct evidence, ii. 13. Receives a parting stirrup-cup from King George the IVth, i. 14. Threatens to bring on the Catholic question, i. 14. His Lordship contrasted with his Vice-Chancellor, Sir John Leach, i. 35 to 62. His contempt for the polite arts, &c. i. 56. His delays, i. 58. Effects of salary on, i. 85. Remarks of Lord Holland on, i. 219.
Elections, the, of 1826, i. 1, 8. Decided by the purse, i. 1.
Equitable adjustment, the question of, considered, ii. 299, 308. Is like robbing Peter to pay Paul, ii. 303.
Errors of the press, ii. 52 to 58.
Established churches and established spectacles, a parallel between, iii. 1, 11.
Eton Montem, i. 210.
Explanations on the dissolution of the Goderich ministry, i. 130.

Faith, the Wellington, i. 149, 154.

Fanaticism, the Church no check to, iii. 11, 20.
Felo-de-se, imaginary inquest on the Duke of Wellington's, ii. 47 to 53.
Feuds in the enemy's camp, iii. 283, 289.
Fictions, legal, i. 178, 184.
Fines, their policy and nature considered, i, 75, 81. Not proportioned to means of party, i. 72. Maximum spares rich, minimum crushes poor, i. 76. Opinion of Bentham on, i. 79. For apple-stealing, i. 80. In the case of a young nobleman, i. 80.
Fleming, Admiral, a convert to the ballot, ii. 288.
Footpaths, stopping up of, ii. 168 to 172.
Franchise, the, and the ballot, ii. 282, 288.
French liberals attacked by Mr O'Connell, i. 252.

Game-preserving and man-destroying, i. 121, 125.
George IV, his prospect of popularity, i. 24. His dislike to the Recorder's report, i. 128. Weeping at Virginia Water, i. 232. His death, ii. 15. His character, ii. 18 to 22. His inconsiderate prodigality, ii. 19. His evil associations, ii. 19. The "honourable prince," ii. 20, 21.
Gibbet, traveller seeing in strange land, i. 46.
Goderich, Lord, his opinion on the difference between Mr Herries and Mr Huskisson, i. 132. His private virtues hostile to his public usefulness, i. 127.
Goderich administration, the dissolution of, i. 126. Character of Lord Goderich and of some of his colleagues, i. 127, 128. Explanations of the causes of its dissolution, i. 130, 133. Mystifications following, i. 134, 142.
Good men, enumeration of, iii. 86.
Government, the, delicate state of, ii. 133, 141.
Government, the proper purposes of, i. 118.
Governments, the mode of spoiling, iii. 36, 38.
Graham, Sir J., on impressment, iii. 32, 35. His secession from the Grey cabinet, iii. 65.
Grey administration, the, introduces the reform bill, ii. 84. Confidence in ceases to be the cry, ii. 141. Mr Macaulay's defence of, ii. 389, 403. The jack snipe of, iii. 24. The discredit of (1834), 60. Secession of the detrimentals from, iii. 65. Its subservient position with the peers, iii. 71. Dissolution of, iii. 79.
Grey, Lord, declares representation, and not nomination, the principle of the reform bill, ii. 89. Makes the ablest speech on the reform bill, ii. 125. His intentions towards the Irish church, ii. 225, 231. Exposes the deficiencies of his Irish church bill in his own arguments, ii. 349. Scene between his Lordship and the Nottingham Dissenters, iii. 20, 24. On impressment, iii. 30. On repeal of the Irish Union, iii. 41. Discovers that lords will be lords, iii. 73. Withdraws from office on the resignation of Lord Althorp, iii. 79. His opinion on the state of things at the commencement of Mr Canning's administration, i. 23. His bearing on the grant of the living of Bishopsgate in commendam to his brother, ii. 377.
Greenwich sixpence, the injudicious opposition of Lord Althorp, &c. to Mr Lyall's motion respecting.
Grote, Mr, on the weight of public opinion and the sure means of ascertaining its preponderance, ii. 6, 7.
Gulliver, Mr Lemuel, his modesty vindicated, i. 25. His remark on the King of Lilliput's clemency, i. 52.

Hampden's resistance to taxation, ii. 131.
Harrowby, Lord, his opposition to the reform bill, ii. 127.
Hereditary Chamber, would be at issue with a reformed House of Commons, i. 177. Can never be independent of each other, and co-efficient, i. 178.
Hereditary legislation, ii. 221, 225.

Hereford (the Bishop), strictures on his taking the living of Bishopsgate, ii. 379, 383.
Herries, Mr, apology for, i. 130. His squabble with Mr Huskisson about the appointment of Lord Althorp to the chair of the Finance Committee, i. 130.
Holland, Lord, his notice of Lord Eldon's conduct, i. 219.
Honour, definition of the word, ii. 191.
Howick, Lord, his answer to Sir R. Peel's question about making the Irish corporations 'normal schools,' &c., iii. 305.
Hobgoblins, M. Berbiquier's book on, i. 98. His adventures with, i. 100, 101.
Hocquincourt, case of the Mareschal, i. 152.
Horrors, diseased appetite for, ii. 195.
Hulton, Mr, his affair with Lord Althorp concerning the Manchester business, ii. 146.
Hume, David—Joseph, account of, ii. 192.
Hume, Mr, moves a resolution to open the ports for corn, i. 163.
Hunt, Henry, some account of, ii. 180, 186.
Huskisson, Mr, his dispute with Mr Herries, i. 131. His explanations and speech at Liverpool, i. 137. Reminded by Mr Duncombe of his saying that he would not act with destroyers of Canning, i. 138. Declares confidence in public opinion, ii. 7.
Hypocrisy, the general, ii. 244, 252.

Illuminations intended to keep people in the dark, i. 134.
Impressment, views of Lords Grey and Brougham, Sir James Graham, and Mr Buckingham, thereon discussed, iii. 29, 35.
Imprisonment, evils of, on mesne process, i. 280.
Inconsistency, disproved in the case of Mr Canning's supporters, i. 26. Esop's satyr, i. 29.
Inconsistency in moral judgments, i, 206.
Indictment, absurd form of, i. 179, 184.
Information, taxes on, iii. 50, 56.
Irish church—see church.
—— corporation reform, iii. 300, 310. Tory motion for the extinction of corporations defeated, iii. 301.

Judges (rural), i. 84.
Judas, fragment from the first book of, ii. 359, 363.
Jury (trial by) its excellencies and deficiencies, i. 188. Case of, at Gloucester, i. 191.
Justice and mercy, i. 194, 202. Not separated in the human breast, like law and equity in the courts, i. 196.
Justice, attempts to defeat, i. 274, 280. New mode of doing, ii. 232, 234.

Kean (the actor) persecution of, i. 207.
Knight, case of the Rev. Mr (a clerical magistrate), i. 295.
Knowledge, satisfactory, i. 272, 273.

Lansdowne, Lord, his admonition to the House of Lords respecting the denial of municipal reform to Ireland, and his manly allusion to O'Connell, iii. 298. His opinion on the breaking up of Lord Liverpool's administration, i. 12. Overtures to him to join the Canning administration and his objections, i. 19, 20.
Last, Dr, his opinion on professional dignity, i. 171.
Law, the, its severity on suspected and tenderness for convicted criminals, i. 69 to 75. Exemplified in the case of Ledbeater, the policeman, i. 72, 74. The profession of, ii. 193. Its persecution of music, iii. 118, 125.
Leach, Sir John, contrasted with his chancellor, Lord Eldon, i. 54. Hasty in judgment, i. 56. His talents admitted, i. 57. Legal requisites examined, i. 58.
Ledbeater (the policeman.) Reference to false charge against him, i. 72, 74.

Legislation, its respect for monied men, 301 to 307. Performed à-la-Grimaldi, i. 306. Frivolous and vexatious, iii. 85.
Libel (action of) should be tried with reference to motive, i. 97. French and English law of, i. 98, 106.
Littledale, Mr Justice, his estimate of sufficient knowledge, i. 273. On aggravation of offence, ii. 220.
Littleton, Mr, his communications with Mr O'Connell on the coercion bill, iii. 80.
Liverpool, Lord, consequences of his being struck with paralysis in 1826, i. 8.
Londonderry, the Marquis of, characterised, i. 128.
Lords, House of, reflections on its character and pretensions at the commencement of the Canning administration, i. 35, 40. Figure of the child's doll and danger of letting out the bran, i. 36.
Lords, the House of, reform of (see Peerage reform).
Lords, the House of, rallies after its defeat towards the summer of 1832, ii. 364. Consequences of the reform of the Commons to, ii. 366 and 371. On the encreasing wish for its reform, iii. 233, 241. Reconstitution of, iii. 241, 247.
Ly, or lie, characteristic termination, ii. 192.
Lyall, Mr, his bill for transferring the merchant seamen's expenses from Greenwich hospital, iii. 62.
Lyndhurst, Lord, when considered a liberal Tory, i. 9. Supersedes Sir R. Peel, iii. 336.

Macaulay, Mr, compares electors to jurymen, ii. 284. The trumpeter of the Grey ministry, ii. 389. Topics of his speech at Leeds in 1833, ii. 389, 403. Prefers quinquennial parliaments, ii. 396. On corn laws, ii. 394.
Mackintosh, Sir James, quoted, ii. 96.
Magdalen, the, rejected for being virtuous, i. 72.
Magistracies to be sold, i. 192.
Magistracy against the beer houses, iii. 43.
Magistracy, the, 82 to 90. The remarks on the unpaid, in the Edinburgh Review, i. 83. Mr Sydney Smith on the same subject, i. 84. The paid and unpaid, i. 87. Considered as bulwarks to power, i. 88. Incapacity of the, i. 293 to 295.
Magistrate's, a, zeal for good manners, i. 204.
Man-destroying and game-preserving, i. 121, 125.
Martilli, the convict, his pastoral letter, i. 309.
Marvel, Andrew, supported by his constituents, iii. 41.
Mayor, the Lord, and the stock-jobbers, i. 203.
Melbourne administration, the, formed, iii. 83. Its principles, iii. 84. Is broken up by the King, iii. 125. Its untried character, iii. 129. Recalled to office, iii. 215. Its composition and policy, iii. 217, 221.
Melville, Lord, resigns office, Feb. 2, 1826.
Mendiz Pinto, his interpretation of divine favour, i. 53.
Mercy, impolicy of vesting its dispensation in the crown, i. 197.
Mesne process, effect of arrest on, i. 280, 287. In a case of fictitious debt. i. 280, 287.
Milton, John, his estimate of prelacy, iii. 27.
Mischief, Jonathan Wild's opinion of, iii. 60.
Molière's quack and his patient, i. 91, 92.
Monkeys of Exeter Change, anecdote of, i. 225.
Moral judgments, inconsistency in, i. 206.
Morning Chronicle, strictures on police system in, i. 120.
Morning Journal, the prosecution of, ii. 26, 34. Its libel on the Duke of Wellington, ii. 32.
Moss, Mr and Mrs, their barbarity to a female slave in the Bahamas, i. 274.
Mournings, general, i. 208.
Mouse in meal cask, the higher clergy compared to, i. 66.

Music, Church, the Standard against, iii. 17.
Mystifications, a chapter of, i. 134 to 142.

Newcastle, the Duke of, doing as he pleased with his own, i. 242 to 248.
Newgate Saints, Burke, Thurtell, Corder, &c. i. 311 to 316.

O'Connell, Mr, his entry into parliament, i. 248. Anticipations of his course, i. 251. His abuse of the French liberals, i. 252. Declares himself a Benthamite, i. 238. On his imputed mendicancy, iii. 39. The Lord Chancellor's attack on him, iii. 40. Similarity between his case and that of Andrew Marvel, iii. 60. His communications with Mr Littleton on the obnoxious clauses of the Irish coercion bill, iii. 80. His plan for a re-constitution of the House of Lords considered, iii. 244. The Tory attacks upon, iii. 273, 278. Mean truckling to clamour against, iii. 275. His alleged compact with the Melbourne ministry, iii. 279.
Office, the love of, may exist in a statesman from the highest motives, as well as from the coveting of power, i. 67.
Oligarchy, the forlorn hope of the, iii. 131.
1830 (the year ONE of the people's cause) observations upon the close of, ii. 78 to 81.
1831, the year, observations on, ii. 195 to 200.
Opinion, the tide of, on the merits of Mr Canning, i. 155, 159.

Paganini's prices, ii. 187, 189.
Pamphlets of the old school described, i. 68.
Pantomime and politics, iii. 213, 214.
Parliament, the relations of, with the press, 252.
Parliament (the reformed) elects Manners Sutton its first speaker, ii. 318, 321.
Parliaments (short) advocated, ii.
Parliaments will not spontaneously improve, i. 7.
Parliamentary slave trade of 1829, i. 242.
Parliament of 1826, composition of the, i. 8.
Peachum, Mrs, her partiality for Filch like the law's tenderness for thieves, i. 70, 96.
Peers, the, their probable treatment of the reform bill on its introduction to them, ii. 110, 121. Their rejection of the bill, ii. 121, 133.
Peel administration formed, iii. 195. Prospects of improvement under, iii. 199. Broken up, iii. 201.
Peel, Mr (now Sir Robert), resigns on the appointment of Mr Canning to be prime minister (Feb. 1826), i. 8. His resignation the only one then regretted, i. 9. His opinion on the constitutional policy of this country, i. 164. Sketch of him after the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, when the object of Tory hostility, i. 259. His motley moral complexion, i. 260. Set the fashion in law reform, i. 262. His bigotry determined by Canning's toleration, i. 263. A reformer or a dunce, ii. 8. His ideas on the growth of constitutions, ii. 95. His accession to the ministry in 1834, iii. 161. His manifesto to the electors of Tamworth, iii. 170, 184. His speech at Merchant Tailors' Hall dissected, iii. 221 to 228. Might complain that the "Thanes" flew from him, iii. 283. Superseded by Lord Lyndhurst, iii. 336.
Peerage Reform, examination of the objections by Edinburgh Review to, iii. 247. Lord John Russell's declaration against, iii. 257, 264. Mr O'Connell's plan of, iii. 265, 270. Mr Fox's plan, iii. 272. Errors in the Whig view of the question of, iii. 327.
Pension list, its exasperating effect, iii. 25.
Percival, Mr, and his general fast, ii. 246.
Phillpotts, Bishop, his prowess

against the Irish church bill in 1833, ii. 353.
Phrases versus arguments. ii. 10, 15.
Pharisees and publicans, ii. 162.
Pig, how to roast without firing the house, iii. 317, 323.
Pitt, the Right Hon. W., his plan for "buying up" rotten boroughs well received in the House, ii. 104.
Place, Mr F. on drunkenness among workmen, iii. 88.
Politics made easy, ii. 99, 106.
Police, the new, prejudices against at its formation examined, i. 265, 272.
Police, deficiences of, in England, i. 117.
Polignac ministry, i. 226.
Poachers, the treatment of, i. 122.
Poor, comforts of the, disregarded, i. 296 to 300.
Press, error of the liberal part of, in supporting administrations of a mixed character, ii. 53. Absurd fears about the liberty of, ii. 142, 143.
Press, the, liberty and licentiousness of, i. 90. Is permitted to *abuse* the people with entire freedom, i. 96. Its position with the Houses of Parliament, ii. 253.
Prisoners, examination of, i. 184, 187. The question of procuring self-conviction considered, i. 84.
Promulgation of statutes, neglect of, ii. 207, 214. Observations of Bentham on, ii. 213.
Punishments (capital) ii. 156 to 167. Petition against, from the county of Middlesex, ii. 156. Lord Brougham's remarks thereon, ii. 162.
Punishment, severity of, deprecated, ii. 214, 221.

Quarterly Review on the Duke of Wellington's yielding the premiership to Sir R. Peel, iii. 150. On the revenues of the clergy, ii. 279.

Raumer, Herr Von, his account of England, iii. 351 to 372. His common-places, iii. 372. Lacks information of party politics, iii. 362. His slighting mention of Bentham, iii. 365.
Readings, constitutional, ii. 200, 207.
Red herring cures an Englishman of a fever, but kills a Frenchman, i. 83.
Reform of Parliament, i. 175, 178. State of public feeling, 1828, favourable to, i. 175. Mr Grote's statement of, ii. 6. The bill for, as introduced by Ministers, examined, ii. 84, 89. Discussion of, in the House of Commons, ii. 89, 106. The second bill for, improved, ii. 198.
Representation, what it ought to be, i, 234. Aristocratic influences on, i. 237. The stage preceding, ii. 1 to 9.
Respectability, the virtue of, i. 202.
Reverence, derivation of the word, ii. 1 to 2.
Rhetoric, decline of, with the advance of knowledge, i. 212.
Rice, Hon. S. argues that the ballot will promote hypocrisy, ii. 309, The argument answered, ii. 310.
Richmond, the Duke of, his secession from the Grey Cabinet, iii. 65.
Ripon, Earl of, his secession from the Grey ministry, iii. 65.
Russell, Lord John, introduces reform bill, ii. 84 to 89. His speeches thereon, ii. 91, 93. His saying that annual parliaments could not co-exist with the monarchy, ii. 373. Declares himself at Honiton still opposed to the ballot, iii. 187. His declaration against peerage reform, iii. 257.

Sabbath, the bitter observance of, iii. 311, 316.
Salaries of Scotch judges, i. 288 to 293.
Scott, Sir Walter, his description of a schoolmaster's evening relaxation, i. 113, 114. On the fall of Charles X.
See, definition of the word, ii. 191.
Sidmouth, Lord, his character, i. 128.

Slave trade, the Parliamentary, of 1829, i. 242.
Smith, Rev. Sidney, article on Catholic emancipation by, i. 215.
Snipe, the Jack, of the Grey ministry, constantly shot at but never hit, iii. 24, 25.
Soothing system, the, illustrated, ii. 145 to 155.
Spectacles established in South America, iii. 1.
Spiritual and temporal lords, concord between, iii. 28.
Spoiling governments, mode of.—See governments.
Sports, noble, i. 317 to 321. Bull-fighting and hawk-flying honoured; cock-fighting decried, i. 319.
St Alban's, the Duke of, and his hawks, i. 317.
The Standard newspaper on the secular pursuits of the clergy and on music, iii. 16, 17.
Stanley, Lord, his approbation of coercion, ii. 232. Admits the Irish church to be sinecure, ii. 239. His secession from the Grey ministry, iii. 65. His refusal to join the Peel cabinet in 1834, iii. 165. His desertion to the Tory ranks in 1835, iii. 228.
Statesmen as they are and as they ought to be, i. 168 to 175. Notion of Edinburgh Review, that they may follow any calling, rebutted, i. 174.
Sultan's method of showing pleasure, i. 210. He respects public opinion and learns it from conflagrations, ii. 9.
Sutton, the Hon. Manners, his unfitness to be chosen speaker of the reformed House of Commons, ii. 319.

Teachers, the condition and endurances of, i. 106, 114. A lady's estimate of their merit and its reward, i. 109. Letter in the Times from one describing his life, i. 110, 111.
Thieving, the trade of, before the improvement of the metropolitan police, i. 115, 121.
Times, newspaper, its commentaries on a Turkish proclamation, i. 45. Its charge against Ledbeater the policeman, i. 73, 75.
Times, signs of, in 1829, i. 219.
Trial at Gloucester before Mr Baron Hullock, i. 189.
Tocqueville on democracy, America cited, iii. 304 and 306.
Tooke, Horne, his story of the Magdalen saved, i. 71.
Tory government, improvement under, iii. 195.
Tory, Whig, and Radical, argument between, ii. 200, 207.
Tories, how to ruin the, iii. 154, 161. They become sham converts to reform, iii. 159. New plan of, iii. 343. Compared to Cacus drawing the oxen by their tails.
Turkish proclamation in the spirit of legitimacy, i. 46. Compared with a supposed speech of Lord Sidmouth or Lord Castlereagh in parliament, i. 49.

Union, Irish, address to the throne against a repeal of, iii. 39.
Usury Laws, their injudicious maintenance, ii. 36 to 38.

Vagrant Act, its operation too confined, i. 74.
Voluntary principle, in religion, iii. 57, 59.

Walpole, Sir Robert, his letter to George II, i. 139.
Watch, the ancient, i. 265 to 272.
Wellington administration, formation of, i. 143. The coming downfall of, ii. 38, 46. Advise the King not to attend the city dinner, ii. 42. Resign on the success of Sir H. Parnell's motion on the civil list.
Wellington, the Duke of, the insult offered to him in the city on the 18th of June, ii. 259. Takes the reins of power at the dismissal of the Melbourne cabinet as the forlorn hope of the oligarchy, iii. 131, 142. Holds five places at once, iii. 142. His dilemma, iii. 143. His waiting for Peel, iii. 148.
Wellington, the Duke of, resigns on the appointment of Mr Canning

to be prime minister, but afterwards withdraws his resignation and takes office under Mr Canning, i. 8. Not an hereditary but a *created* legislator, i. 39. His assertion of no guarantee having been given to Mr Huskisson, i. 133. His assumption of two offices at once, i. 145. Supposed assumption of the office of Archbishop of Canterbury, i. 145. Paragraph in the Herald thereon, i. 147. The leading liberals become pleased with, i. 149. The faith reposed in him, i. 149, 154. Some account of his Grace, a burlesque, i. 160, 162. His merit in Catholic emancipation, i. 216, 217. His prosecution of the Morning Journal, ii. 26 to 34. Apologue addressed to, ii. 35. His famous declaration against reform, ii. 40. His supposed felo-de-se, ii. 47.

Westmoreland, Lord, resigns office, Feb. 1826.

Wharncliffe, Lord, and the tradesmen of Bond street, ii. 129.

Whig view of the peerage question, errors in, iii. 327.

Widows, vote of rich, recommended to the holders of mortgaged estates, i. 40.

Wild, Jonathan, at cards, i. 5. In Newgate with the ordinary, i. 314.

Wild, Mr Serjeant, his remark on the House of Lords, iii. 238.

William IV, King, his permitting the Bishop of Hereford to hold the living of Bishopsgate *in commendam*, ii. 377.

Wilson, Sir Robert, and the Southwark electors, ii. 11. His preference for open voting, ii. 12. Hates muffling up, but muffled up Lavalette, ii. 12.

Words, Bacon on, i. 194.

Wynford, Lord, and compulsory transportation for life in cases of forgery, ii. 222.

York, the Duke of, his character, i. 62, 65. Much esteemed in private life, i. 63. His bigotry, i. 63. His excellent administration of the army, i. 64. Was just when beyond the reach of aristocratic influence, 64.

Yorke, Sir Joseph, his remarks on judges' salaries, i. 289.

00027165

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 04 February, 2016